

**Th**ere begynneth the famous cronycle of the warre/  
which the romayns had agaynst Jugurth  
vsurper of the kyngdome of Numi-  
dy: whiche cronycle is compy-  
led in latyn by the  
renowned romayn Salust. And translated into en-  
glish by sp: Alexander Barclay preeft/at  
cōmaundement of the right hye  
and mighty prince: Tho-  
mas duke of  
North-  
folke.





## The table.

**There foloweth the table of  
this present hystorie.**

**H**er first the preface of Alexander  
Barclay preest: vnto the  
right hie and myghty prince  
Thomas duke of Northfolke.

**A** briefe compendious extract declaring  
brefely the effect and proces of this pre-  
sent hystorie. fo. primo.

**T**he prologe of Salust: first cōpy-  
let of this hystorie. fo. iiii.

**O**f what mater Salust intendeth  
to treat in proces of this boke / & what  
causes moued hym of suche matter to  
write. The first chappiter. fo. v.

**H**ow the kynge Massinissa came  
into fauour of the romayns: and how  
the kynge of Numidy was gyuen  
vnto hym. The seconde cha. fo. vi.

**H**ow Publius Scipio counsellid  
Jugurth at his departyng: after the  
citie of Numance was destroyed.

The thyrde chappiter. fo. vii.

**T**he sentence of the letters sende fro  
Scipio vnto the kynge Micipsa: in  
cōmendacion and laude of Jugurth.

The fourth chappiter. fo. viii.

**H**ow the kynge Micipsa adopted  
Jugurth vnto his sonne. The fyft  
chappiter. fo. iiii.

**T**he exhortacion or monicion whiche  
the kynge Micipsa befoze his deeth  
gaue to Jugurth. The. vi. cha. fo. ix.

**H**ow the kynge Micipsa departed  
from lyfe: and of the first cause and dis-  
corde betwene Jugurth and the son-  
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**H**ow Jugurth by treason slewe M-  
emplall the yonger sonne of Micipsa.  
The eyght chappiter. fo. xi.

**H**ow Jugurth ouercame Adher-  
bal in batayle and put hym to flight:  
how Adherbal fled to Rome to cōplay-  
ne to the senatours. and how Jugurth  
acloyed with rewardes many of the  
rulers of Rōe: by whose meanes his cru-  
elty was defeded. The. ix. cha. fo. xii.

**T**he oration of Adherbal in forme  
deliberatiue: in which he exhorted the  
senatours to cōmaunde socours & ayde  
to be assigned to hym: pynge the same  
to be pfitable/honest / & easy for romais  
to do: pfitable: that he might cōtinue  
aftende to the empire of Rome: honest:  
for his father & grandfather had so de-  
serued: easy to be done: for the romayns  
at that tyme had none other warre els-  
where. The. x. cha. fo. xiii.

**H**ow the embassadours of Jugurth  
replied agaynst the wordes of Adher-  
bal: & what dyrection was taken for  
bothe parties of the senatours of Ro-  
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**T**he descripcion of the habitables  
partes of the countrey of Affrike: na-  
mely of such nations as had ampte or  
warre with the romayns. The twelth  
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**H**ow Jugurth inuaded the kynge-  
dome of Adherbal yet ones agayne:  
and how Adherbal agayne was ouer-  
come in batayle/and put to flight.

The. xiii. cha. fo. xix.

**H**ow the fauourers of Jugurth at  
Rome laboured so in this cause: that  
thre yong men inexpert: and without  
polycie were sende embassadours into  
Affrike / to cease the strife betwene the  
two kynge: & how these embassado's  
retourned to Rome without any thing  
done. The. xiiii. cha. fo. xx.

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**T**he sentence of the letters sent from Adherbal vnto the senators of Rome: what tyme he lay bysegged by Jugurth within the towne of Cytha.

The. xv. cha. fo. xxi.

**H**owe the senators sent newe embassadours to Jugurth / commaunding hym to desyst from persecucion of Adherbal: and howe they preuailed nothyng: howe the towne of Cirta was yelded to Jugurth: and howe he slewe Adherbal. The. xvi. chappter. fo. xxii.

**H**owe the senators certyfied of the cruelty of Jugurth / prepared and arrayed agaynst hym: howe the embassado's of Jugurth were nat receyued into Rome: and how Calpurnius the romayne capten was adloped by wythes of Jugurth. The. xvii. cha. fo. xxiii.

**H**owe the rulers of Rome for the moost part were greuously displeased for graunting of the peace: & disallowed the same: & how Metellus inflamed the comen people agaynst the fauourers of Jugurth. The. xviii. cha. fo. xxv.

**T**he orison of Metellus had before the comen people of Rome: In whiche orison he induceth the to defende their libertie: and to represse and prosecute with hatred the noble men of Rome. The. xix. cha. fo. xxvi.

**H**owe Metellus induced the peple of Rome by the sayd orison / so that Cassius was sende for Jugurth to bypunge hym to Rome: to declare and accuse the supporters of his dedes. The. xx. chappter. fo. xxvii.

**O**f the behauour of the soudyours and other whiche were left in Numidye: whyle Scaturus the consul was at

Rome. The. xxi. cha. fo. xxix.

**H**owe Jugurth came to Rome vnto Cassius: and howe he behaued hym selfe there. The. xxii. cha. fo. xxx.

**H**owe Jugurth increased his cruelty at Rome: and renued his murther in sleaynge an other noble man of the stocke of Micipsa: by occasion wherof he was constayned to depart from Rome: and the batel renued agayne of hole. The. xxiii. cha. fo. xxxi.

**H**owe Albinus consul of Rome renued the warre agaynst Jugurth: and at last retourned agayne to Rome leuyng his brother Julius in Numidye with the army in his towne. The. xxiiii. cha. fo. xxxii.

**H**owe Julius and the romayne army were dyscomfyted of Jugurth: and howe peace was graunted to hym by Julius: & to what shame the romayns were put by rashe folly of the same capitayne Julius. The. xxv. chappter. fo. xxxiii.

**W**hat sorowe and heuyness was at Rome: and how they demeaned them selfe in the cpytie / after that tidynge herof were brought thither. The. xxvi. chappter. fo. xxxiiii.

**W**herof the dyscorde and takinge of parties bytwene the noble men and comens of Rome: had first beginning. The. xxvii. cha. fo. xxxv.

**H**owe Metellus was creat consull and sende by the romayns to warre agaynst Jugurth: and of the wyse and discrete behauour of the same Metellus. The. xxviii. cha. fo. xxxvi.

**O**f the behauour of Jugurth agaynst Metellus: and how he sende embassadours to Metellus requyringe



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unfaynedly to yelde by the kyngdome  
of Numidy to the empire of Rome: and  
howe Metellus behaued hymselfe a-  
gaynst the same embassadours. The.  
xxx. chapter. fo. xxxvii.

Howe Jugurth prepared and ad-  
dressed hymselfe agayne to warre: &  
what ordynance and polycie he vled  
agaynst the newe consull Metellus.  
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Of the firste batayle foughten by  
twene Metellus and Jugurth. The.  
xxxi. chapter. fo. xl.

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of Jugurth and his cōpany were dy-  
scomfyte by Rutilius / vndercapten  
of Metellus. The. xxxi. cha. fo. xli.

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after this firste batayle and flyght of  
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agaynst Metellus. The. xxxii. cha.  
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Of the great toy which was deme-  
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uour of Metellus: and howe he gyded  
hymselfe and his army / to contynue &  
augmēt this honour which he had go-  
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Howe Metellus besyged Samam  
one of the strongest townes of Numi-  
dy: and howe Marius vndercapten of  
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gurth. The. xxxiv. cha. fo. xlv.

Howe Jugurth assailed and inua-  
ded the tentes of the romayns / in the  
meane tyme whyle Metellus gaue af-  
saute to the towne of Samam. The.  
xxxv. chapter. fo. xlv.

Howe Metellus behaued hymselfe  
for his part / and of the great conflict

whiche the romayns had agaynst the  
Numidyans. Metellus with his fore-  
men assaulyng & to the towne of Samma for  
one part: & Jugurth fiercely fightyng  
with the romayns (peremen for the o-  
ther part. the. xxxv. cha. fo. xlvii.

Howe Metellus remoued the siege  
from Sammam: and howe Bomylchar  
so perswaded Jugurth that he yelded  
hymselfe: his kyngdome / and all o-  
ther thynges to mercy and grace of  
romayns: and howe Jugurth after  
losse of his men / trefour / elyphantes /  
armour: & horse: chaunged his mynde  
agayne. The. xxxvi. cha. fo. xlviii.

Howe Marius by ambicion labou-  
red to be consull / and to prosecute the  
warre of Numidy: and howe he detrac-  
ted the consull Metellus. The. xxxvii.  
chapter. fo. l.

Howe Jugurth renewed the warre a-  
gaynst Metellus: and howe the Nu-  
midians inhabytours of the towne  
of Uacca / by treason murdered the gar-  
nyson of romayns / whiche Metellus  
had sette in the same towne. The. xl.  
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Howe Metellus destroyed the tow-  
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tenant or captayne of the towne was  
beheaded at the commaundement of  
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Howe Bomylchar conspyred trea-  
son agaynst Jugurth: and by what  
meanes this treason was discouered:  
and Bomylchar with certayne other  
were put to dethe for the same. The.  
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Howe Metellus renewed the warre  
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was creat consul/ and assigned to execute the warr of Numidy: at pleasure of the comens / agaynst the wyll of all the noble men of Rome. The. xlii. chapter.

fo. lvi.

¶ Of the seconde batell foughten by twene Metellus and Jugurth: and howe Jugurth lost the batell/ and also one of his chiefe townes named Thabla. The. xliii. cha.

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¶ How Metellus fortified the cite of Leptis: & at request of the balladours of the same cite / sent thither garnyson to defende it agaynst Jugurth: and of the situation of the same cyte / and behauour of the inhabitauntes therof.

The. xlv. cha.

fo. lxi.

¶ The description of that place of Africke which is named the Whyle auters: and for what cause the same place was first so named. The. xlv. cha.

fo. lx.

¶ Howe Jugurth assembled a newe army of the rude Getulians agaynst the romayns: and howe he associated hnto hym Bocchus kyng of the maurians / to strength hym in batell agaynst Metellus. The. xlv. cha.

fo. lx.

¶ Howe Metellus vsed hymselfe betwix that these two kynges were confederate agaynst hym: and how after that he was certified that the prouynce of Numidy / was assigned to Marius the newe consul: he ceased the warre for the nones. The. xlv. cha.

fo. lxi.

¶ Of the great ordynance and preparation: whiche Marius the newe consul made agaynst Jugurth / and for the warre of Numidy. The. xlv. cha.

fo. lxii.

¶ The orison of exhortacion of Marius had to the comen people of Rome before his voyage into Numidy / whiche orison is demonstratiue: containing the laude and prayse of Marius: and dysprayse and blames of the noble men of Rome. The. li. chapter.

fo. lxiii.

¶ Howe Marius after his exhortacion ended: anone laded shippes with ordynance of warre / and sent forward with the same one Manlius his embailladour: and how he hymselfe anon after folowed withall his company: and how he behaued hymselfe in Numidy / at first begynnyng. The. li. chapter.

fo. lxv.

¶ Howe Metellus the olde consul returned to Rome: and of the worthy and valiant behauour of Marius agaynst Jugurth / and of his great actes at his begynnyng. The. li. chapter.

fo. lxv.

¶ Howe Marius wanne the great & riche cyte named Capsa: and howe he utterly destroyed the same / and gaue al the riches therof to haurocke among his souldiours. The. lii. chapter.

fo. lxix.

¶ Howe Marius by fortune more than by strength / wanne the strongest castel of al Numidy: wherein were the treasours of Jugurth. The. liii. chapter.

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¶ How in the meane tyme whyle this castel was in wyppnyng / a noble man of Rome named Lucius Sylla: cam from Rome to Marius with a great bende of hoymen: and of the maners and behauoure of this Sylla. The. liii. chapter.

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Jugurth.

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**H**owe Marius preuayled in batell  
agaynst both the two kynge Jugurth  
& Bocchus. The. lvi. cha. fo. lxxv.

**O**f the great prouision & wylsome  
of Marius after his victorie: and of  
the secōd batell which he had agaynst  
the two kynge: in whiche also he had  
great victorie/ with great laude & ho-  
nour. The. lvi. chap. fo. lxxvi.

**H**owe Bocchus after that he was  
twyse overcome in batayle/ purposed  
to make peace with the romayns: and  
how at his request Marius sent vnto  
hym Spila and Manlius: to knowe  
his mynde in that behalfe. The. lvi. cha.  
chapter. fo. lxxv.

**O**f the wordes of Spila treasourer  
of the romayne army/ had before king  
Bocchus. The. lvi. cha. fo. lxxv.

**O**f the answers of Bocchus made  
to Spila: and of the vnstablenesse of  
mynde of the same Bocchus. The. lvi.  
chapter. fo. lxxv.

**H**ow Bocchus chaiged his mynde  
yet ones agayne/ and sende newe em-  
balladours to Marius to treat of the  
peace: and howe Spila receyued and  
treated them in absence of Marius.  
The. lvi. chapter. fo. lxxv.

The. lvi. chapter.

fo. lxxv.

**H**owe Marius herde themballa-  
dours of Bocchus & sent them to Ro-  
me: and howe they were answered of  
the senato's. The. lvi. cha. fo. lxxvi.

**H**ow Marius sent Spila agayne  
to Bocchus at his desyre: and what  
daunger the same Spila escaped by  
helpe of Volur/ sonne of kynge Boc-  
chus. The. lvi. cha. fo. lxxvi.

**O**f the metyng and secrete apoynt-  
mētes bytwene Bocchus and Spila:  
and howe bytwene them both/ they as-  
bused Asper: the embassadour of Ju-  
gurth. The. lvi. cha. fo. lxxvi.

**O**f the secōde cōpyng togyder of  
Bocchus and of Spila: & of the wo-  
des of Bocchus had to Spila: and re-  
plication & answer of Spila agayne  
to hym. And how Bocchus graunted &  
cōcluded to betray Jugurth to the ro-  
mayns. The. lvi. cha. fo. lxxvi.

**H**owe Bocchus betrayed Jugurth  
and deliuered hym bounde vnto Spl-  
la. The. lvi. cha. fo. lxxvi.

**H**owe Marius was receyued into  
Rome with triumphe: and howe Ju-  
gurth was cast in prysone: where he co-  
tynued in myserable captiuite tyll he  
died. The. lvi. cha. fo. lxxvi.

fo. lxxv.

FINIS.

The preface of Alexander Barclay preest/vnto the  
right hye and mighty prince: Thomas  
duke of Northfolke.



**R**

ight myghty hye / &  
magnificent prince : myne  
humble seruyce / due vnto  
your grace. And the behe-  
met affection whiche I ha-  
ue vnto your honour & per-  
petual fame / impelleth me  
often tymes to deuyse / and reuolue in mynde:  
what seruyce or pleasur my simplenesse might  
do / couenient and acceptable vnto your hygh-  
nesse : therby to testify the honour / the loue / &  
obsequy : whiche I knowlege my selfe to owe  
vnto your magnificence. But whan I cōsider  
and cōpare

REVERENDISSI-  
mo in Christo patri ac dño: dño  
Ioanni Veyssy Exoniē episcopo  
Alexander Barclay presbyter de  
bita cum obseruantia, S.

**M**EMINI me super  
oribus annis cū ad-  
huc facelli regij pre-  
sul essepastor vigilā-  
tissime : tuis suassionibus incitatu:  
vt Crispi Salustij hystoria (quā Iu-  
gurthernum bellū vocant) e roma-  
na lin-



na lingua: in anglicam compendio  
se vertit: rem: quam rem (tamen) ar  
dua videbatur (tamen) quantū p̄xi-  
le ingenio / alias (quæ me premunt)  
curas: licuit certū erat capessere  
Indignū enim duxi. viti bonarū li  
teta: studiosis lauentissimi, moni  
tis literario in negotio non obtē-  
perare. Sane quum adiceris / tibi /  
vniuersisq; anglici nois procerib;  
rem gratissimā fore: qui plerūq;  
huiusmodi labores sp̄ote subeo:  
a tanto patre admonitus: non po-  
tui prouinciam recusare. Huc acce-  
dūt illustriū p̄cipis Thomæ bos-  
rialis gentis ductis hortamēta: qui  
& ipse paulo posteaq; tua dñatio ad  
hāc op̄am me p̄suaserit non mino-  
ri impulsu eandē ad rē adegit: atq;  
eocūstantē aim redegit: vt postis  
die prouiciā aggredere. Cui quo-  
q; magnificētie (vt duci rerū mili-  
tarium pitissimō / hystoria bellicis  
de rebus cōscripta: cōueniret) libel-  
lū nō inerito nūcupauī. Atq; vt du-  
ci strēnuissimo / p̄otiticiq; doctissi-  
mo morē gererē: tentauī in segnem  
illā hystoriā / bellāq; quod cum Iu-  
gutha tyrāno / rege Numidiæ inua-  
fore: pop. romanus. varijs sub con-  
sulibus varijsq; v̄ctoria victoria gef-  
sit / ex latio sermone: in anglicū (tu  
is sub auspicijs) vertere. Vt (te aus-  
thore) habeant tandē anglici pro-  
ceres: quod ad rerū magnā imita-  
tionē digne legant. Ad hoc / ip̄sius  
Crispi Salusti; verba huic n̄re trās-  
lationi ydoneū visū est in margine  
annotare: tū vt due linguæ vna in  
pagina / per colūnas: meo more dis-  
ficeret / altera alterā magis illustret.  
Tum vero: vt tetrici seniores istis  
qui soli sibi sapere videntur: quicq;  
seriosū quicq; aut graue / vulgare ī  
sermonē redigi egre ferūt ac penē  
dedignantur: habeant etiā quod la-  
tine legāt: obscurus tamen: ac hy-  
storiā legant: vix illis forsā / satis  
intellectū vel cōmentariorū aut  
iterptis alicui elucidamēta ite-  
uenirēt. Atqui hūc n̄m laborē / vis-  
is literatis: ac latinæ linguæ erudi-  
tis res

and compare my symplenesse and impotence  
with your p̄eminēt dignite: I synde my selfe  
gretly insufficiēt to parfoyme oꝝ attempt any  
besynesse oꝝ warke which I may condynglie  
p̄sent vnto your honozable p̄el ēcc. Acuer-  
theles after many cōsyderaciōs: the gracious  
regard of benynge grauite which I beholde  
in your cōtēnace: and the euident signes of  
humilitie whiche outwardly apereith radicate  
in your noble hert: reconforteth myne insuffi-  
ciance & inboldeth my spirit / some thyng to  
wryte my custome whiche I may p̄sent into  
your gracious handes: as a perpetual memo-  
rial: an and euident testimony of my deuout  
seruice / & amorous affection agaynst your ma-  
gnificent hyghnes. In this cōsyderacion I  
haue reuolued many & diuerse volumes / su-  
dyng of which one: the trāslation: might coꝝ-  
respond with your noble estat. But at last I  
haue remēbered that a mercyal matter is most  
cōgruent vnto a martial & victorizous p̄ince.  
Wherfore I haue attempted to translate into  
out maternal langage the auncient cronicle &  
famous hytōrie of the warre: and dyuts ba-  
tarls which the romayns dyd agaynst the ty-  
ran Jugurth: vsurper of the kyngdome of  
Numidy. Whiche hytōrie is wryten in latyn  
by the conowmed romayne Salust: whose  
wordes in latyn I haue also added vnto the  
marge of this my trāslation to thintent that  
such as shal dyd dayne to rede my translation  
in englyshe: may rede this hytōrie moze cō-  
pendyously & moze obscurely wryten in laten.  
Whiche hytōrie: parauenture shal apere moze  
clere & playne vnto theym in many places by  
help of this my trāslation. Which shal nat be  
tedyous to such as be lerned & vnderstande la-  
tyn: but vnto many noble gentylmen whiche  
vnderstande nat latyn tong p̄fectly I dout nat  
but that this my labour shalbe both pleasure  
& p̄ofet. For by the same they shal haue some  
help toward the vnderstandyng of latyn: whi-  
che at this tyme is almost contēned of gentyl-  
men. And also they shal vnderstande a tryght  
fructful hytōrie: bothe pleasant / p̄ofitable / &  
tryght

## The p̄face of

ryght necessary vnto euery degre: but special-  
 ly to gentylmen / whiche coueyt to attayne to  
 cleere fame and honour: by glorious dedes of  
 chynalry. But I doubt nat: but that some cal-  
 lumnypous detractours shal maligne agaynst  
 this my besynes and p̄fitable labour / sayeng  
 that to a p̄est and man p̄fessed to obseruāce  
 of religion: it is farre cōtrary & dysagreyng  
 to intermpt hymselfe with warfare: or to in-  
 termpt with thynge of batayle: outhet by de-  
 des / counsel / or wrytynge. But to stoppe the  
 mouthes of such calumniators: moost soue-  
 rapne p̄ince: me semeth ryght & cōuenient in  
 this place: somwhat to wryte as wel cōcernyng  
 the cōmodities & laudes of hystories: as apert-  
 tenent vnto myne owne excusacion. And first  
 I knowlege it moche moze cōueniēt: a p̄est to  
 arme hymselfe with constance / holy scripture /  
 purenesse of lyfe / & adyant vertues: and with  
 suche socours & armour defended: hold helpe / &  
 valiantly / to byd batayle agaynst byces: to pur-  
 sue the obstinate synners of this worlde. And  
 to cōtende also agaynst the temptaciōs of his  
 carnal cōcupiscēces / agaynst these mundayne  
 blandimētes & delectacions: and agaynst his  
 gostely enemies suggestyōs. For vnder this  
 maner (as assermeth the holy man Job) man-  
 nes lyfe vpon yerty is but a warfare: & a very  
 masse of miseries: an intricate circuite of vary-  
 able / and ineuitable errors. For certayne I  
 deny nat: but that such ought to be the warfa-  
 re of a man withyn holy orders: auowed & sub-  
 myt vnto h̄ holy mynisteries & auters of god.  
 But this other temperal warre is permytted  
 vnto wordely p̄uers: and may nat be om̄p-  
 ted: namely in this worlde oppressed with ty-  
 rāny of intyrpous and odypous tractōs and  
 opporessours: whose obstinate p̄sumptions /  
 assautes / & inuasiōs can nat otherwys be re-  
 pressed: than by violence / armout / & batayle:  
 vnder ministracion of good and ryghtwys  
 p̄inces defenders & mayntayners of the com-  
 men wele. Than it is lausful: a p̄est to wryte  
 suche actes for example of our posterite: for  
 perpetual remembraunce of the laudes of good  
 p̄inces /

tis tedio futurū: vix facile credides-  
 rim: verū plerisq; proceribus est ro-  
 mana lingua: vix bene intellecta: &  
 non dubiū est et delectamēto futu-  
 rū ac cōmodo Nēpe eodem ad lin-  
 guę latinę intellectu aliquantulū  
 adiumentū acquirēti acquirēti  
 hystoriā etiā perutilē itelligēt / nul-  
 li mortaliū generi non necessariā:  
 potissimūq; nobilibus adolescētū-  
 tūlis / qui rei militaris exercitijs  
 clarissimis ad samā gloriā p̄nitun-  
 tur. Verum enī verō non dubito fu-  
 turos qui huic labori meo: quantū  
 vis vtili cālūnentur: quiq; tot san-  
 oblatrabunt / homini sacerdoti sa-  
 creq; religionis obseruantis inici-  
 ato: longe alienū atq; absurdū sese  
 militariū rebus implicare / aut bel-  
 liciū sese imiscere tumultibus / con-  
 silio factis: scriptisue. Ceterū hoc i-  
 loco: haud absurdū videtur presul  
 eximie aliquid inferere: quod tam  
 hystorię cōmoditates paucis aper-  
 at q̄: qd calumniatū huiuscemodi  
 liuorē cōpescat. Ac primū quidā fa-  
 teor / magis sacerdotē decere / ma-  
 gisq; par esse / cōstancia / sacrarū li-  
 terarū peritiā / vite sanctimoniam / ac  
 puritate / ceterisq; virtutibus sese  
 armare: atq; hīs p̄sidijs quasi ful-  
 gentibus armjs munitū: forti fiden-  
 tiq; aio vicijs bellū indicere / obsti-  
 natosq; scelerū sectatores psequi.  
 Ad hęc ingēti pectore totisq; ai vi-  
 ribus / carnalibus concupiscentijs /  
 mūdi blādimentis: et atiqui hostis  
 suggestionibus reductari. Nempe  
 hoc modo: Iob attestāte: Militia est  
 vita hoīs sup terrā: ac vere miseria  
 rum labar inthus / inextricabiliūq;  
 errorum domus ābigua: neque in-  
 cior sane: viri sacris iniciati ac di-  
 uinis ministerijs addicti militiam  
 talē esse debere. Verum altera illa  
 militia seculi amatoribus permis-  
 titur: vt. s. vim vi repellāt. Neque  
 ab ea abstinere posse arbitrori: p̄-  
 fertim in orbe tot tyrannicis inua-  
 sionib; obruto / tot odiosis exaccio-  
 nib; spoliato / tot raptorū gregib;  
 laniato. Quorum atrox pertinacia  
 insultusq; ferocissimi: non alia



## The p̄face of

ter reprimi possint: q̄ violētī armos-  
rū tumultū id. ꝓ auspiciis bonorum  
principū reipublice iautorū. Neq̄  
minus d̄cere arbitror huiuscemo-  
di res gestas / presbyterū literis mā-  
dare: in posteritatis exemplū inq̄  
perpetuam bonorum principū me-  
morā gloriosā: qui ad tyrannorū  
aliorūq̄ sceleratorū hoīm flagitia  
coercenda: sūmī dei optimi: ma-  
ximi flagella iteris fūere: q̄ duces  
illos magnanimos huiuscemodi  
bella strēnue gessisse.

Ceterum quæ ad hystoriæ commo-  
ditates attrinent: q̄ breuissime pote-  
ro absoluam. Nēpe ex eiusdem les-  
tione (vt Beroaldus q̄ disertissime  
p̄sequit) joim aratū oīm gētū: oīm  
populorū res gestas quasi p̄fē tes  
intueri possumus: quod quanti sit:  
Cicero declarat dicens. Nihil earū  
rerum scire: quæ anteq̄ nāsceretur  
facte sunt: hoc est semp̄ esse puerū.  
Cumq̄ senibus maior sit experien-  
tia fidesq̄ maior propter vnus se-  
culi rerū cognitionem: quāto ma-  
ior esse debet hystorias lectitanti:  
ex quibus tot seculorum res geste  
reperūtur. Est enim hystoria testis  
tēporum: lux veritatis: vite magis-  
tra: vetustatis nuntia: quæ et ora-  
tori p̄q̄ est necessaria. Nam alere  
potest (vt Quintilianus ait) oratio-  
nem: molli quodā ac iucundo suc-  
co: nec ferme cōcionem reperias in  
qua non alicuius rei geste citetur  
exemplum. Est p̄terea (vt idem  
Beroaldus inquit) operi preciū in  
hystoricorū voluminibus omnis ex-  
empli documenta velut in illustri  
monumēto posita intueri. Atq̄ (vt  
Diodorus inquit) pulchrū est ex a-  
liorū erratis vitā nostram in melis  
us iustituere: et quid expetendum  
quid sectandū: quidue fugiendum  
sit ex aliorū exemplis posse cognos-  
cere. nō ab re: q̄ Demetrius Pto-  
lomeum regē admonebat: vt libros  
ac p̄sertim hystoricos: lectitaret q̄  
quidem: quæ amici non audent p̄-  
cipibus demonstrare: ea omnia in li-  
bris scripta oculis obijciunt. Hæc

Beroaldus

princes / which haue ben here in etth the scort-  
ges of god to correct tyrannes & synners. But  
great is the laude & many be the comodities &  
vtilities of hystories. In hystorie is the recoz-  
der of tymes passed: the lyght of verite: the  
maistres of mannes lpueng: the p̄sedyent of  
memozie: the messanger of antiquite. And (as  
Titus Lilius recozdeth in his pzologue) the  
knowledge of hystories among other thynges  
is most holsome / necessary / and p̄fitable. For  
euery good example which in them is wryten:  
is set for a warnyng & monyction vnto princes  
and gouernours therby to rule & order them-  
selfe: & a cōmen wele. And euery exāple of mis-  
erable fortune of tyrannes / is set as a monic-  
on for the same gouernours nat to be of tyran-  
nous behauour: lest at last they may fall into ly-  
ke miserable tynne & calamite. And also (as  
sayth Cicero) a man to knowe nothing of that  
which was done befoze his tyme & remēbrā-  
ce: that is as who sayth alway to be a chyld.  
But it is a thyng very comely: & necessary be-  
foze other: to knowe these cronycles & noble  
actes of aunciet tyme & remēbrance to kepe in  
mynde the order & courtes of antiquite: and to  
haue in mynde the knowledge of examples for  
euery mater & purpose. For in likewise as vn-  
to aged men is moze credence & auctozite gy-  
uen / than to yong men: bycause of experiece of  
many thyngs. So such noble & diligēt mynd  
as delpteth in redyng hystories: may haue  
knowlege nat onely of the dedes of onc man-  
nes lyfe: but also of the dedes most famous of  
al tymes / syth creation of the world. Wherfoze  
(as sayth Epodorus) it is a comely & fayze  
thyng / moche necessary & cōmendable: a man  
to refourme & amende his lyfe / by example of  
an other mannes fault & dā damages. Wherfoze  
Demetrius Phalerus the great phylosopher:  
often warned & counselled the kyng Idolomp  
to exercise hymselfe in often redyng of bokes  
of hystories. For in so doyng: princes shall  
fynde wryten in bokes befoze their epen eyght  
many thyngs cōcernyng their wele / honour / &  
fame: which their frends dare nat be bolde to  
tell them



## Alexander Barclay.

tell them for dyede of dyspleure: fathermore  
 without the knowlege of hystories neuer man  
 roude become good oratour. For (as asser-  
 meth Quintilian) hystories be of such myght  
 and effect that they may noysshne the speche of  
 an oratour with soft and mete lycour. These  
 premisses with otherlyke considered: moost  
 magnificent prince: me thinketh it thing nat  
 inconuenient a preest to write of hystories of  
 warre: and also me thynke both pleasant & pro-  
 fitable to noble men to exercise themselves in re-  
 dyng the same. For bresely to speke by tyght  
 wylle batel: the lawes of god & man be men-  
 tyoned: vice & vicious men corrected: vertue  
 and good men rewarded and exalted. Our  
 sayth agaynst infideles defended: rebellers &  
 tyrannes subdued: and finally all thyngs dire-  
 cted & to due order reduced. Fathermore the sa-  
 me redyng of hystories semeth to guyde nat a  
 lytel to the knowledge & cōtempt of this tran-  
 sytoire pleasure mundayne & mysery of this  
 vncertayne lyfe. For whan hystories represet  
 befoze our syght the balyant and bolde herted  
 knyghtes chynning in armour: & richely apa-  
 relled: on comely courcers harded & trapped  
 with golde & spluer: the goodly order & ordy-  
 nance of a great army of armed men chynning  
 in harnesse: fyres & prepared redy to batayle:  
 the trumpettes sounding: the golden streamers  
 and standerdes blaspyng & glisterpyng agaynst  
 the sonnet: and bresely all the grounde ouerco-  
 uerd with men & riches. What els is all this:  
 but a bayne ostentation of perty opulence: and  
 caduke glozie prepared besely / assembled la-  
 boriously / and exposed folshly & furiously  
 vnto destruction & ydicion. But agayn anon  
 after: whan we rede & se in the same hystories  
 the baltant mennes bodies prostrate: the cat-  
 chases of knynges / dukes / erles / knyghtes / and  
 pages mengled all toggyder: all pryde & conten-  
 tion abated. The byght harnesse dyed with  
 blode: the wounded courcers drawynge after  
 them the deed bodies of their lordes: the men  
 crypyng: the tentes & towres brennyng. What  
 is all this sight w otherlyke? Forsoth nought  
 els but

Beroaldus Ascentius / ceteri q; au-  
 tores / de hystorie laude scripseret  
 quibus ex dictis quanti sit hystoria  
 qad vitam humanam vtilis accom-  
 modat atq; nemini non clarescit.  
 Quas res si liuidi oblatratores p-  
 pendant (perpenderent autem sa-  
 perent). Haud absurdum ineptue  
 existimabunt / sacerdotem hystoria  
 as rerum militarium literis man-  
 dare nec minus volumpratis accō-  
 modi / egregijs viris in eisdem le-  
 citandis proueturum. Quippe (vt  
 paucis dicā) iusto bello: diuina hu-  
 manaq; iura aut violata reparan-  
 tur: aut inuiolata consuetudine sce-  
 lera reprimuntur: flagiciofi coerē-  
 tur: virtus eminet / clarescit / extol-  
 litur: boni probiq; debitis honoris  
 bus illustrantur promouētur. Chri-  
 sti fides contra eiusdem sacratissia-  
 mi nominis hostes protegitur mu-  
 nitur: tyranni legum cōtemptores  
 alieneq; libertatis violatores sub-  
 iiciuntur. Postremo diuina huma-  
 naq; omnia debitū in ordinem res-  
 diguntur stabiliuntur & augecāt.  
 Præterea eadem rerum gestarum  
 lectio ad rerum terrenarum notici-  
 am: earundemq; cōtemptum ac pre-  
 sentis vite miseriarū fastidium nō  
 modicum videntur conducere. Sa-  
 ne cum hystoriarum lectio ante o-  
 culos obijciat: magnanimos duces  
 ac milites armis fulgentibus deco-  
 ratos sonipedibus ostro atoque  
 insignibus insidentes: splendidos  
 ordines apparatusq; exercituum  
 feroces ac bello instructos: lituos  
 rauco clamore aera replentes: ve-  
 dtes vexillosq; auro fulgentes ad  
 solemq; micantes: ceteraq; id gen-  
 rei militaris insignia. Quid aliud  
 queso vniuersa hæc pompa / q; terre-  
 ne opulentie inanis ostentatio: cu-  
 riosissime conquesita: anxie coacer-  
 uata: et ad ruinam perniciemq; in-  
 genti mortalium demencia obie-  
 cta inq; perditionem expedita. At  
 contra: cum paulo post eisdem in  
 hystorijs legamus et ante oculos  
 cernam: duces comarcos / satrapas  
 equites.

## The p̄face of Alexander Barclay.

equites veteranos / gregariosq; milites / sparsim postratos / horrida ferociū cadauera militum humistrata / inorbundaq; membra solum pulsantia / occisorum cūmulo sine delectu conculcata arma sanguine sedata / faucios equos moribunda dominos corpora trahentes / gemitū morientium / flammam ac fumum castrorum urbium templorumq; ardentium / ceteraq; belli horrenda spectacula. Quid ceterū huiuscemodi id genus alia? Nēpe nihil aliud q̄ manifesta mortaliū bellutne festicie argumenta / terrene vanitatis exempla / humaniq; exitus miseranda spectacula / quæ principum immoderatam dominandi libidinem declarant / quæq; secundas res generi humano intollerabiles probant / ac suis suis stulticia / ne dicā dementia in præcipiti ruentem hominem manifestant. Innumera-bilia saluberrimaq; huiuscemodi exempla / quæ ex rerum gestarum lectione proueniunt / animum adigerunt ut ex latino in vulgarem sermonem hanc hystoriā transferrem / atq; eo libentius presul eximie quoniam rem gratam acceptamq; tibi futuram intelligo. Ego igitur animo accipias queso hanc laboris nostri lucubratiunculam. In qua quicquid absurdum ineptū minusq; elumatum fuerit / id meæ ignorantiaē ascribi velim. Sin quid consonum quod legentium audientiumue animos aut aures oblectet obiter occurrat / omnem in te præsul egregie gratiam transferri volo qui omnium primus ad hunc me impuleris laborem / sopitumq; ingenium ac studium resuscitaueris.

Vale.

Ex cellula Harfelden regij. iij.  
Idus Nouembris.

els but an euident spectacle of mannes brutall crudelite: and an exāple of mundayne banite: declarynge the immoderat & insatiabable desyre of dominion of perthelp princes: and prouing that vnto man welth is intolerable / & cōfounded by his owne folp. These manyfolde and hollsome exāples: represented before our sight by reding of cronycles: hath moued my mynd to trāslate this present hystorie forth of latyn into our maternal langage. But among all other noble men of this region: most hye and myghty prince: ye seme vnto me most worthy and cōueniēt: to whose grace I shuld deprecate this hystorie: bothe for myne owne duety to be obserued anent your magnificence: and also for the excellent worthynesse of your merites & great polycie of chyualty / whiche lately haue aperted in your whyle ye nat with lesse vplōde / than valpāntye haue baynquysshed the inuassour and vbolent ennemy of the cōmen wele of England. In whiche noble & gloriouse acte ye haue putted your selfe lyke vnto myghty Marcius. But this I om̄p̄te: as thynge euidently knowen to euery man: lest I myght seme rather to recourt these your strong dedes for aduocacion: than for true relation. Wherfore most myghty & magnifcent prince: pleas it your hyghnesse of gracious beniuolence to accepte this small present / trāslated by yo<sup>r</sup> beedman to pleasure & profit of al gentylmen of this region: but namely of your hyghnes & of the noble men of your p̄geny & affynite. But to thintent that this my small gyft somewhat may be augmented: my selfe / my scrupce / and prayer: I offre withall vnto your hyghnes.

Thus endeth the p̄face of this present cronycle: by Alexander Barclay p̄rest / dyrect vnto the myghty hye and myghty prince Thomas duke of Northfolke.



There begynneth a compendious extracte / contaynyng breffely the effecte and processe of this present cronycle / compyled in latyn by the famous Romayn Salust. And traslated into englysshe by Alexander Barclay preest / at comaundement of the ryght hygh & myghty prince Thomas duke of Northfolke.



In this present cronycle or hystory of Rome: is written the batayle / whiche the Romayns had with Jugurth / usurper of the kyngdome of Numpydy. The lande of Numpydy is parte of the countrey of Affryke. In whiche raygned somtyme a kyng named Massinissa: felowe and frende to the empyre of Rhome. This Massinissa had thre sonnes thus named: Micipsa / Manastabal / and Galussa.

But after the deth of Manastabal and Galussa: the first brother named Micipsa / obtayned the kyngdome of Numpydy alone / without partnyer. For after the custome of Numpydy / heritages are wont to be deuided among brethren by equal porcions / after dyscease of theyr parentes / of whome suche heritage issueth. This Micipsa so crowned kyng of houle Numpydy had two sonnes / the first called Adherbal / the seconde Hiempsal. But his brother Manastabal whiche was departed before / left behynde hym one bastarde sonne named Jugurth: to whom his grand / father Massinissa bequethed none heritage / but left hym priuate without lande or lyeuodde / for asmoche as he was vnlaufully borne. The kyng Micipsa was moued with pyte & compassion agaynst this Jugurth: and cōsideryng that he was his brothers sonne / & without conforzte / receyued hym into his house / and cherisshed hym in all thynges / as he dyde his owne sonnes. This Jugurth as he grewe in stature / so grewe he in all gyftes belon / gynge to nature / and became a right strong & hardy knyght / and also moze excellent in wysdome / than in courage or myght / and was moche elder than the two sonnes of Micipsa: named Adherbal & Hiempsal. What tyme Micipsa cōsidered the flouryng age / manlynes / & wysdome of Jugurth. And on the other parte / whan he remēbred the feble pōngth & vncerpert of his owne two sonnes / in this aduise mēt his mynde was sore troubled w dzed: lest after his deth / the same Jugurth myght inuade and vsurpe vnto hym selfe the kyngdome of Numpydy / his owne two sonnes Jugurth.

A. i.

**I**n huius hystorie narrationem ne inaniter nos quaeramus aut superbe inueteratam nam sic ex Ioanne Christiano solummodo habeto. Exordio premisso rem ipsam aggrediamur. Numida est pars Africae in qua regnavit Massinissa rex, socius et amicus populi romani. Hic Massinissa tres habuit filios Micipsam, Manastabalem, et Galussum. Sed mortuo Manastabale et Galussa Micipsa solus regnum obtinuit / qui Adherbalem et Hiempsalem filios ex se genuit. Jugurtham autem filium fratris Manastabalis educavit ut filium quem Massinissa avus privatum reliquerat: quia ex concubina natus erat. Sed Jugurtha et corporis viribus ac virtute animi plurimum valebat, ingenio maxime excellens, maior natu Adherbale et Hiempsale. Micipsa igitur timens ne post mortem suam Jugurtha parvis liberis Adherbale et Hiempsale existentibus regnum sibi usurparet / multum eo negotio permotus



## An extract declaryng

est: multaq; in aīo volē-  
uebat quib; modis re-  
gni inuasorē (vt ipse ti-  
mebat) tollere possit e  
medio. Tandem hac in  
aīo herebat sententia:  
se velle Iugurthā bel-  
li periculis obiectare  
et eo modo fortunam  
ētare si quo modo pes-  
sire posset. Quum igit  
populus Romanus Nu-  
māciam Hispanie ciui-  
tatē duce Scipione obsi-  
deret: Micipsa auxi-  
lia peditū et equitum  
ad id bellū populo Ro-  
mano misit: quibus Iu-  
gurthā psecit sperans  
illū i eo bellū posse in-  
terire. Sed ea res lōge  
aliter ac ratus erat eue-  
nit. Nā virtus Iugur-  
thae i eo bello plurimū  
enituit, ac multa prae-  
clara facinora gessit:  
Ob quae Scipio Iugur-  
thā in concioe laudas-  
sum: ac donis militaris  
bus magnifice donatū:  
finito bello, ac capta  
et deleta numancia: ad  
Micipsam remisit cum  
litteris in quibus vir-  
tutem Iugurthae miris  
laudibus extollebat.  
Quo factū est vt Micip-  
sa mutato cōcilio atq;  
aīo: quem antea interi-  
re cupiebat: hūc maxi-  
me incolumem vēllēt.  
Micipsa igit Iugurthā  
sibi in filiū adoptauit:  
et paulo post mortens  
fortunas suas oēs: ac  
regnū ipsū: cum liberis  
cōmune reliquit. Mors  
suo Micipsa: cū reguli  
Adherbal, Hiempsal, et

beyng nat of power to defende thēselfe. Micipsa after these thyn-  
ges cōspyd: determined to object this Iugurth vnto paryll of  
warre/and by such meanes to assay if it might fortune hym to be  
slayne in batell. Therfore what tyme ꝑ romains haupng Sci-  
pio for their capitaine/besege the cyte of Numance: this Mici-  
psa sent vnto the romains to ꝑ same batayle great socours both  
of hoymen and of fotemen. And made Iugurthe captayn ouer  
them. This dyde he trustynge that it was possible and lykely  
ynough that this Iugurth a knyght yonge / lusty / and desirous  
of honour / myght by some chaūce of fortune be slayne in batayle/  
as I sayd befoze. But at conclusion it fortunēd moche contrary.  
For the boldnesse and strength of Iugurthe in that warre was  
well proued and knowen. For many noble and ballant actes of  
chpyalty dyd he: wherby he wanne moche laude and glozy / with  
great loue & fauour / nat onely of Scipio the captaine / but also of  
all the noblest men of the Romayne army. In somoche that after  
this warre was fynished: and the cyte of Numance dystroyed  
the captaine Scipio assembled his hole army: and befoze them  
all with magnificent and fauorable wordes cōmended Iugurth  
with merueylous laudes. This done he rewarded hym with ma-  
ny & riche gyftes of chpyalty. And sent hym agayne to the kyng  
Micipsa with letters / wherin also he commended this Iugurth  
with great laude and praysyng. By instigation of whiche thyn-  
ges it so befell: that where as the kyng Micipsa / nat long befoze  
despyed nothyng moze than ꝑ deth of Iugurth: nowe he coueted  
nought somoche as conseruacion of his lyfe & helth. So that nat  
long after he adopted hym as his sonne / and ordayned in his tes-  
tāmēt hym to be one of his hepyes & partiner of his kyngdome  
with his two othet naturall sonnes. Whiche ordinaūce he neuer  
chaūged / but at his departyng increased his fauour and bene-  
fites agaynst ꝑ same Iugurth / leauynge hym nat onely partiner  
of his kyngdome / but also of all his treasours. And besyde this  
decreyd hym to be protectour of his two naturall sonnes / and of  
theyr porcions of the kyngdome. Sone after this ordinaūce the  
kyng Micipsa departed fro lyfe. But whan ꝑ thze princes Ad-  
herball / Hiempsall / and Iugurth determined amonge them the  
tyme whan the treasoure shulde be deuided and the boundes of  
the kyngdome lymited to them eche one his parte. At this assem-  
ble grewe a dissencion betwene Hiempsall & Iugurth / by occa-  
sion wherof Iugurth shortly after slewe Hiempsall by treason  
and gyle. After this Hiempsall was slayne Iugurthe fired his  
mynde to possesse the hole kyngdome of Numidy. Wherfore he

prepared a great & strong army agaynst the other brother Adherball / and at last whan bothe mette in batayle the army of Adherball was ouerthrowen / and hymselfe put to flyght. Adherball thus ouercome and spoyled of his kyngdome fledde vnto Rome / and there befoze the senatours declared the tyrannous crueltie of Jugurth agaynst hym comitted / and agaynst his brother Hiempsall cruelly murdered: desirynge socours of the same senatours / w<sup>ch</sup> p<sup>er</sup>tefull wordes and lamentable complayntes. At conclusion it was decreed of the senatours / that .x. noble men of Rome shulde be sent embassadours to Numpydy / to deuyde the kyngdome betwene Adherball and Jugurth indifferently. The same embassadours hastened them to Numpydy / and byde the comaundement of the senate to them inoyned: but moze to the fauour of Jugurth / than Adherball. Whan the kyngdome was departed and deuided / and the sayd embassadours were also departed from Affrike towarde Rome: Jugurth sette his mynde yet ones agayn to inuade and vsurpe the part of h<sup>is</sup> kyngdome which belonged to Adherball / by assignemēt of the embassadours. Wherefoze he assembled a newe army / and with the same inuaded his kyngdome: Adherball compelled by necessity assembled also an other army for his part / and proceeded forth and mette with Jugurth. But anone after they ioyned batayle / Jugurth ouerthrew the host of Adherball & put hym to flyght / cōstraynyng hym to fle with a fewe horsmen about hym into a walled towne nere by / named Cirta. Jugurth anone beleged the towne on all partes. In the meane tyme Adherball by letters certified h<sup>is</sup> senatours of Rome in what state Jugurth had brought hym. How he was bereft of his kyngdome by crueltie & ambition of Jugurth: how he was brought to extremite by hunger and force of armes / nat able to abyde the besegynge any longer: how it appered evidently that Jugurth set bytell by the decrees & ordinaunce of the senatours. And at conclusion of the same letters he humbly besought the senate of ayde and socours in this his extremite. Whan these letters were redde befoze the senatours assembled: many of them were: which iuged it thynge expedient and conuenient: to socour Adherball. And anone to sende an army into Affrike agaynst Jugurth. But his frendes whome he hadde bought for money at Rome: made suche resistance that no suche ordinaunce coude come to effect / noz passe forth agaynst hym. Neuerthelesse newe embassadours were sent ones agayne to Jugurth / and that menauncient and of great authorite: to compell and comaunde hym in name of the senatours to desyst from his entrepryse and cruel

Jugurth.

A. ii.

Jugurtha regnū inter se diuidere cōstituit loco et tempore ad id faciendum cōstituto Iugurtha Hiēpsalem natu minorem p<sup>er</sup> insidias interfecit. Quo extincto quū ad occupandum vniuersū regnū iecisset animū cōtra Adherbalem exercitū parat: et prelio facto illū victum tūdit fugatq; Adherbal victus ac regno spoliatus Romā venit: expositaq; nephanda crudelitate Iugurthā in se / fratrēq; suū Hiēpsalē extinctū a senatu petit auxilium cōtra illum. Senatus decreto fit vt mittantur decem legati qui regnū inter Adherbalem et Iugurthā diuiderēt. Diuiso itaq; regno cum legati Romani ex Affrica dices: filiū rursus Iugurtha animū intēdit ad occupandum imperiū Adherbalis. Igif exercitū cōparato regnū eius inuadit. Adherbal necessitate coactus: et ipse copias parat: et Iugurthā obuiā proficiscit. Mox prelio cōmisso Iugurtha Adherbalis exercitū fundit: atq; ipsum Adherbalē cum paucis eqtib<sup>us</sup> in Cirtā oppidū fugere cōpellit. Iugurtha oppidum obsidet. Interea Adherbal per lras senatū monet quo i statu fortuna sue sint positę: regno se spoliātū a Iugurtha et eifame ac ferro adextres



## An extract declaryng

ma esse deductum nec ampli⁹ obsidionē posse sustinere. Iugurtham decreta senatus perui facere petere vt sibi auxiliū mittat. His litteris in senatu recitatis fuerūt qui censerēt statim Adherbali subueniendū esse: et exercitū in Africā contra Iugurthā esse mittendū. Sed resistētibus amicis Iugurthę quos sibi pecunijs parauerat: ne quid tale fieret. Legati ad Iugurthā mittunt qui verbis senat⁹ eū ab incepto desistere cogetēt. Iugurthā legatis verba dedit quoadusq; discessere. Quo facto illi qui Iugurthā cōtra cū Adherbale itra oppidū obsidebant psuadet ei: vt oppidū Iugurthę tradat: tātū ab eo vitā petat. Deditiōe igitur facta Iugurthā statim cōtra fidē datā Adherbale ex cruciatū iterficir. Quāquā Romę nūciata esset: grauit a senatu sūt habita. Igitur Lucius Calphurnius Bestia cōsul cū exercitu cōtra Iugurthā mittit a quo cōsul pecunia corrupt⁹ turpiter cū eo sœdus fecit: quā rem senat⁹ populusq; roman⁹ grauit tulit. Post Calphurniū Albinus cōsul mittit cōtra Iugurtham a quo diu ludificatiōib⁹ tractatus cū ei rex spē deditiōis laceret: tandem te i facta: quia tēpus comitiorū instabat:

tie in payne of theyr hye displeasure. Iugurth blynded these ambassadors with fayre wordes and rewardes/ tyll they were departed agayn from Numidy to Rome/ about any thing brought to ende. Whan this was knowen at Cittha/ where Adherball lay beseged: they whiche were with Adherball within the towne counselled hym to yelde by the towne to Iugurth/ vpon cōdicion onely to haue his lyfe pardoned vnto hym. Adherball constrained by famine and other necessities condescended to this counsell. But anone after the towne was yelded/ Iugurth cōtrary to his sayth & promes which he had made to Adherball: slewe hym with greuous & horrible tourmēt. Whan this dede was knowen at Rome: the senatours were soze moued agaynst hym. And toke his demeanoure and dedes inhumayne greuously. Wherfore by common assent of the senatours and commens of Rome: one named Licius Calphurnius that tyme consull of Rome/ was sent with a strong army into Numidy agaynst Iugurth. But within thorte season this Calphurnius corrupted and accloyed with money by Iugurth made a foule bonde of peace wth hym to great dishonoure and shame bothe of hymselfe / and of all the empire of Rome: for which dede the senatours and commens of Rome were greuously displeased. Wherfore Calphurnius was called home agayne to Rome with great dishonoure and rebuke. After this Calphurnius / an other romayn named Albinus was elect consull and dyrect with newe supplemēt of warriours into Numidy agaynst Iugurth. But this Iugurth droue hym forth vnder hope and colour/ as if he wolde yelde hymselfe to the sayd Albinus: so longe tyll at last the tyme approached of election of newe consuls. Wherfore Albinus of necessity constrained: and as decrees of the romayns commaunded: retourned agayne to Rome to be at the sayd election (as he was bounde) without any dede laudably done in Numidy. And at his departinge left behynde hym in Numidy his brother named Julius: to be captayn in his stede / & ruler of his army / and also of the prouince where the same army sojourned tyll the wynter were ouer passed. What tyme Albinus was departed towarde Rome: this Julius blynded by flatteries and foly / behaued hymselfe ryght vnder secretly in his rowme. In somoche that he called the army vnto biage / and warfare forth of theyr tentes in the moneth of January: in coldest and sharpest season of wynter. This dyde he: other bycause he trusted to ende the batayle in his tyme: and so thereby to wyne thanke and worshyppe: or els to thentēt to gete money of Iugurth by graūtyng vnto hym peace & rest for his tyme. And

so to cōstrayne hym to bpe his peace. Whan Jugurth perceyued this vnerpertnes and talle the folp of Julius: he sent vnto hym embassadours as if he were a ferde: by dissimulation to requyre of hym peace. And in the meane tyme the same Jugurth ledde his army among hylles & wodes fainyng as if he fledde from Julius for drede. Julius vnderstādyng this persued & folowed hym more eagerly & hastely without aduysment/ order/ or puision. Whan Jugurth sawe that he had attired & drawen the Romans into a place to fyght for his auantage: anone he assayled them & embatayled with them spherly/ in which batayle he ouercame the romans & putte them to flyght. On the next morne after/ Jugurth and Julius came togyder in communicacion. And at last trewes was styken bytwene bothe parties/ in this maner & by such cōditions: that all the romans shuld passe vnder a spere in signe of subteccion/ and that they were ouercome without more hurt. And afterwarde within ten dayes all shulde depart out of Numidy/ & so was it done. Whan tpydyng herof were brought to Rome: all the citie was troubled with drede & displeasure. After this shamefull trewes of Julius and disconfiture & flyght of the romayne army/ a noble man named Metellus was creat consul of Rome/ & by cōmen assent sende vnto Numidy agaynst Jugurth. This Metellus behaued hymselfe as a noble captaine and valiaunt warriour: and perceyuyng that the residue of the army which was escaped/ was disolute and out of order/ by ouer moch libertie. And by faute of the captains/ which were before/ he first of all reduced the sowdiours to good rule and order/ acorpyng to the auncient ordinaunces of chynalry: and than in tyme conuenient/ after his army was brought to order/ he assailed Jugurth spherly. And after certayne sharpe and greuous batayles/ he diminished his riches/ his myght & power/ & brought hym almost to extremite. After this Metellus: one named Marius last of all was creat consul/ and the prouince & warre of Numidy decreed and cōmitted to hym. This Marius anone persued Jugurthe in batayle moost sharply & fierly of all other/ insomuche/ that finally he utterly brought hym to extremite: his frendes/ his riches and power/ brought all to nought. And at conclusion by treason/ & betrapeng of one Bocchus/ kyng of the Mauriens: Jugurthe was deliuerd to the same Marius as prisoner: whome he ledde bounde to Rome with great gloze & triumphe. At last this Jugurth was thowen into prison/ where at conclusion he ended his miserable lyfe/ in dolors & captiuite. This is the argument and procelle of all this hystory and cronicle: in whiche the redat/ of Jugurth.

A.iii.

Romā redijt Aulo fratresuo proptore relictoq exercitui et provincie precessit. Hic seu belli cōficiēdi cupidus: seu vt a rege pecuniam acciperet: inese Ianuario aspera hyeme exercitū ex tabernaculis in expeditionē vocat. Iugurtha cognita imperitia eius velut pauidus ad eum supplices legatos mittit. Ipse exercitū per loca saltuosafeluti fugiens ducit. Aulus hoc magis insequitur. Vbi Iugurtha videt se traxisse Romanos in locū sibi cōmodū ad pugnādū preliū cōmittit: i quo Romanos lūdit ac fugat. Postera die quū Aulus et Iugurtha in colloquū venisset sedus iter cōfactū est ita vt oēs Romanī icolumes sub iugū mitterentur: et post vtdicem diebus extra Numidiā discederēt. Quē quū Romē nunciata euent dolor ac timor oēs inuasit. Post Auli sedus et romani exercitus iugā Metellio consuli prouincia Numidia per sortē euenit. Hic optimi iperatoris artib' vsus cū exercitū vicio superiorū ducū licētia solutū accipisset: ad normā veteris disciplinx reduxit. Atq; ita Iugurthā aggreus aliquot grauib' praelijs opes eius attriuit. Postremo Caius Marius post Metellū cōsul



## The prologue

creatus cū ei Numidia  
prouinciade creta esset  
Iugurthā bello perse-  
quēs tandē illū ad ex-  
tremā cōpulsit et p pro-  
ditionē sibi traditū in  
triūphū duxit. Hoc est  
totius huius operis ar-  
gumentum.

Præfatio huius operis  
per Caium Crispū Sa-  
lustium hystoriogra-  
phum clarissimum.

**F**Also querif de na-  
tura sua genus hu-  
manum q̄ ætas im-  
becilla atq; aui breuis  
forte potius q̄ virtute  
regat. Nam cōtra repu-  
tādo neq; maius aliud  
n̄q; prestabilius inue-  
nies: magisq; naturē in-  
dustriam hoīm, q̄ vim  
aut tempus deesse.

Sed dux atq; iperator  
vitę mortaliū animus  
est qui vbi ad gloriam  
virtuti via grassat abū  
de pendens: potēsq; et  
clarus est: neq; fortuna  
egit. Quippe quę pro-  
bitatem/industriam/a-  
liasq; bonas artes neq;  
dare/ neq; eripere cui  
quam potest. Sin cap-  
pauis cupidinibus ad  
inertiam i voluptates  
corporis pessūdati est  
pniciosa libidine pau-  
lisper vsus: vbi p se cor-  
diā vires/etās/igeniū/  
deflueret: naturę infir-  
mitas accusat suā qui-  
que culpā auctores ad  
negotia transferūt. Q;  
si hominib; bonarū re-  
rum tanta cura esset:  
quāto studio aliena ni-

whatso euet condicion and degre he be: shall fynde both profite  
and pleasure: if he redde it attently and with good aduertens.  
And moost namely gentylmen apt to attayne to glōzious fame &  
honour/ by sayt of chryualry: shall fynde both pleasaunt and pro-  
fitable pastime/ in redyng this hystory: vnto whose erample/ pro-  
fite/ and pleasure I chesely haue translated the same.

**T**he prologue of this present cronycle compyled  
in laten by the famous romayn Salust: and trāslas-  
ted into englysshe by Alexander Barclay preeft.



**M**ankynde wrongfully complayneth of his  
naturall dysposicion: sayeng/ that his feble &  
scayle lyfe of short cōtinuance of tyme/ is ra-  
ther ruled by chaūces of fortune: than by pu-  
sion of strength or vertu. But if man wel cōsp-  
der his natural inclinacion: cōtrary to such opi-  
nion: he shall fynde that nothyng longynge to  
mankynde/ may be founde & pꝛoued greater/ better/ or moze pꝛe-  
eminēt than his naturall inclinacion: and ꝑ his owne diligēce &  
exercyse/ rather sayleth hym/ than outhet myght or longe conti-  
nuance of lyfe tyme. But in this opinion to iuge indifferēly: let  
man vnderstande that the mynde is ordayned/ gyder/ ruler & ca-  
ptayne of mānes lyfe: which mynde: whan it valyantly intēdeth  
to attayne/ to worshyp & dignite/ by way of vertu: it is excellent  
ynough/ myghty and clere of it selfe: so that it nedeth nat to force  
of fortune/ nor to care for her vncertayne gyftes: but to dyspise  
her/ as nat able to gyue to any man honesty/ diligence or other  
good and vertuouus exercises: nor able to depꝛiue man agayne of  
the same gyftes: after he hath obtayned ꝑ same. But on the other  
part if this mynde of mā/ taken & blynded w̄frowarde pleasurs  
be subdued vnto slouth & bodyly lustes: after it hath exercised &  
occupied such leopdous pleasure by a lytel season: & after that by  
cowardous slouth/ both the strength/ the tyme & the wyt ar banis-  
shed away & decayed: than anone the infirmite & fel phyes of na-  
ture is accused & put in blame. And thus/ all such slouthfull doers  
trāspose & lay away the faute which in themself is culpable/ vnto  
the difficulte of such besynnesses/ as they haue omitted by negligē-  
ce. But if it were so: that men had as great cure & affection of  
thyngs good and profitable/ as they haue desyre & pleasure in se-  
kyng & folowynge thyngs cōtrary vnto them & nothyng pꝛfitable

ye: & also moch pylous & hurtfull: than shulde nat they be more ruled by þ chaunces of fortune / than they shulde rule þ sayd chaunces. And thus shulde they attayne & procede vnto so great excellence: that where they be mortall of nature they shulde be made imortall by glozy & renoumed fame. For in lykewyse as man is composed & made of .ii. thyngs (that is to say of the body & soule) right so all thyngs / all besynelles & exercises / to mankynde: belongyng / solo / weth / some þ nature of the body: to decay brefely & to be mortall: as it is / some other folowe þ nature of the soule / to be eternall & imortall: as it is. Which thing forther to pue by exaple: we dayly se that þ goodly beauty of þ visage & shape of mākynde / great abundance of riches / & also the strength of the body / with all other suche thynges & semblable / decayeth & vanyssheth away within short tyme. But cōtrarily þ excellent & worthy actes: belongyng to mānes wyt: be imortall & euerlastyng: as the soule is imortall. And finally in lykewyse as þ begynnyng of þ gyftes corpal oꝝ natural / & of the gyftes of fortune is caduke / bayne & vncertayn: ryght so is the ende of þ same mutable & trāsitory. And all thyngs which be bozne and spryngyng: agayne decayeth & appoꝛcheth to deth: and whan these same be growen & encreased to the hegth of theyꝝ perfeccion: agayn they begyne to decay and consume by age and debilitie. But the mynde and soule beyng incorrupt / eternall and gouernoure of mankynde / ruleth and weldeth all thynges: but it selfe can nat be violently ruled noꝝ compelled by any thyng erthly / cōsyderyng the freewyll / whiche it optayneth of his creatour. For which cōsyderacion the frowarde iniquite of them is moze to be marueyled: which subdued to the toyces & pleasures of the body / passe forth the tyme of theyꝝ lyfe / in carnall lustes and ydelnes. But to whyng theyꝝ wyt (whiche is the best gyft and grettest treasure graūted to mankynde) that suffre they to slomber and to slepe without exercise / in slouthe and ydelnes: whose dulnes surely is somoche moze to be blamed: namely syth so many and diuers noble exercises & occupacions of the mynde be: by whom moost clere nobles and fame vndeſyled may be optayned. But of suche diuers exercises concernyng the mynde some are better refused: than procured in troublous tymes & in quiet. And namely in this tyme turbulent and season vnquiet: great offices / lordshyppes / rowmes to commaunde & rule: and brefely to speke. All maner cure cōcernyng the administracion of thynges apparteynyng to the comen wele: semeth vnto me nat at all to be couyted oꝝ despyed of any wyse man. For neyther is honoure gyuen vnto vertue / as condigne rewarde and worthy

hil profutura: multūq; etiā periculosa petunt: neq; magis regeſcēt casibus q̄ regeſcēt casus et eo magnitudinis proccederent: vbi pro mortalibus glia eterni fieret. Nam vti genus humanū compositum ex corpore et aia est: ita res cūctę: studia q̄ oia: alia corporis, alia animi naturā sequuntur. Igit̄ p̄clara facies / magne diuitię / ad hoc vis corporis et alia huiusmodi oia breui dilabuntur. At ingenij egregia facinora: sicuti aia immortalia sunt. Postremo corporis et fortune bonorum vt initium sic finis est.

Omniaq; orta occidūt et aucta senescunt.

Animus incorruptus / eternus / rector humani generis: agit atq; habet omnia / neq; ipse habetur. Quo magis prauitas eorū est admiranda: qui corporis dediti gaudijs pluxū et ignauiam atate agūt. Ceterum ingenij (quo neq; melius neq; amplius est i natura mortaliū) incultu atq; secordia torpescere sinunt p̄sertim cū tā multe variegates animi sit qbus sua claritudo paratur. Verū ex his magistratus / et iperia postremo ois cura rerū publica rū minime mihi hac tēpestate cupiēda vidēt / qm̄ neq; virtuti honos



## The prologue

datur: nequilli quibus  
p' fraudē ius fuit. Vtriq;  
eo magis tuti aut ho-  
nesti sunt. Nam a qui-  
dem regere patriā aut  
parētes quamq; et pos-  
sis: et delicta corrigas:  
tamē importunum est:  
quum presertim oēs re-  
rum mutatiōes: cedem,  
fugam, aliq; hostilia  
portendant.

Frustra autē niti: neq;  
aliud (se fatigādo) ni-  
si odiū querere: extre-  
mā dementia: est. Nisi  
forte quē inhonesta et  
p'niciosa libido tenet:  
decus atq; libertatem  
gratificati suā. Ceterū  
ex alijs negocijs quæ  
ingenio exercētur: in-  
primis magno vsui est  
memoria rerū gestarū:  
cuius de virtute (quā  
multi dixerē) puto pre-  
tereūdū: si ne per inso-  
lenciā q's existimet me  
studiū meū laudando  
extollere. At cōtra cre-  
do fore: q' quia decreui  
procul a rep. atātē ege-  
re) tanto tam p'vtili la-  
bori meo: nomen iners-  
tiā imponāt. Certe qui-  
bus maxima industria  
videtur salute plebē:  
et cōiuijs gratiā ques-  
tere.

Qui si reputauerint et  
in quibus ego tempori-  
bus magistratus adē-  
ptus sum: et quales viri  
aſsequi nequiverint: et  
quæ genera hominum  
postea in senatū pue-  
nerint: profecto existi-  
mabunt me magis me-

thereto belongyng nether suche as haue gotten iurisdiction & ho-  
nour/ by fraude & vnlauffull meanes (in lyke case) can nat be mo-  
re sure nor more honest/ by meane of such honour so vnrighwys-  
ly obtayned. For certenly a man to rule his countrey & kynred by  
myght & violence: all if he haue power so to do/ & also though he  
ryght wysly correct & crimes of trasgressours & misdoers. Ne-  
uertheles: so to do it is vnbhouefull & vnerpedient. And often  
at cōclusion more perillous & daūgerous: than it is sure or pfitab-  
le/ & that namely/ syth all mutacions of thynges/ and chaunges  
of gouernours pretende and threten slaughter/ of some crile or  
wylfull flyght/ imprisonmēt with otherlyke cruelties more lon-  
gyng to ennemyes of a cōmen wele/ than to defēders of the same.  
Than forthermore: a man to labour to & vttermost of his power/  
and all in bayne. And in werpenge hymselfe to gete nought els  
but euylwyl and hatred: it is a point of extreme & vtter madness/  
except perchaūce it be such one/ whiche hath a dishonest/ a foule &  
perillous pleasure to cast away for nought his owne wozshyppe  
and libertie/ for pleasure of a fewe myghty men vsurpers of do-  
minion & lordshyp. But among all other besynesse/ which are ex-  
ercised by mānes wpt/ the redyng of hystories & the reducyng of  
the same to memory: is moch more necessary & pfitable to all de-  
grees bepyng rule of a cōmen wele/ but most namely vnto princes.  
Of power/ profet/ & cōmodite wherof: I purpose at this tyme to  
passe ouer w silence/ bycause many other authours haue wryten  
of the same befoze my tyme. And also that no man shulde suppose  
my selfe by pride or insolēce: to boſt myne owne study vainly lau-  
dyng & same. But moch cōtrary I beleue rather & some enuious  
maligners shalbe hereafter/ which shall object & ascribe a name of  
ſlouth and negligēce to this my labour. How great & profitable  
so euer it be: & that bycause I haue determined to lede my lyfe so/  
litarly: ferre from medlyng with the cōmen wele. Certainly (as  
I suppose) they onely shall impute and ascribe suche name to me  
and to this my labour: whiche thynketh it a moost great & sin-  
gular craft or practised wysdome to wynde beniuolence/ by sa-  
lutyng the cōmen people/ and by dissimulate reuerence done to  
euerp man passyng by them/ or els to gete fauour by festyng and  
flatteryng the commentp. Whiche enuious maligners: yf they  
wolde cōsider bothe in what maner seasons and in what teopar-  
dous tymes I haue obtayned offices and rowmes of auctorite &  
what men wold gladly/ and yet myght nat obtayne suche row-  
mes. Nozcouer yf they call to mynde what maner of men after-  
warde came into the order of senatours For certayne if my wyl-

lers consider inedifferently these premisses: than shall they thinke that I haue chaunged the purpose of my mynde: moze for cause reasonable: and by good aduise ment/ than for slouth & cowardise/ and they shall fynde / that moze profet shall come to the common wale by this my study (whiche they count but ydelnes and tyme misspent) than of the labour and besynes whiche other men take hypon them sayntly and iniustly administring the common wele. And they shall fynde that my writing shal proue it selfe moze laudable and profitable to the comente/ than they vndiscrète gouernance. For often haue I herde of the famous princes Quintus Marcius / & Publius Scipio/ and belyde these of many other right famous and worthy men of the citie of Rome/ which when they behelde the ymages of theyr forefathers made of stone / of ware/ or of metall/ and erect into hye trones in memorie of the valiaunt and magnificent actes by them done for the common wele: the sayd princes in aduisinge such ymages were wont to say vnto suche as stode nere by them: that theyr myndes were greatly kyndeled to vertue and nobles in cōtempling of the same. The case is playne: & suche figures of metall/ stone/ or ware had nat such operacion nor myght within them selfe. But such hygh courage & flame was kyndeled and increased in the hardy hartes of such noble men and valiant warrours/ by remembrance of the glorious dedes of theyr forefathers in theyr lyfe tyme/ done & represented to their memozy by such ymages/ in somoche that this flame kyndled in theyr hartes to vertu coude neuer be slaked nor faciate in them/ tyll tyme that they were equall with their forefathers in vertu/ fame/ and glory. Than how moch moze ought the clere description of hystoris to kyndell vnto boldnes and vertu/ the myndes of noble men by redyng of the same. But moche contrary/ if we aduert the worlde as it is now among all men which lyue/ and conforme themselves to the maners bled nowe adayes/ where shall we fynde one: but that wyl striue and contende with theyr forefathers to ouercome them/ other in couetise & superfluous riches/ or els in prodigalite & wastfull expences / and nat in honest and laudable lyfe/ good exercices and diligence. And mozeouer gentylmen of y first heed/ which were wont to preuent auncient noblemen & ascende vnto vertu & nobles / by vertuous maners: such labour now to losse hypp/ honour and authorite/ by fraude & falshode: rather than by very vertu or good meanes & laudable. After suche maner as if the office of a hye Juge / of a Tresourer/ a Consul/ a Prouost/ and all such other great offices/ were noble and excellēt of themselves. And nat in maner as if suche

rito q̄ ignavia iudiciū animi mei mutauisse: magisq; commodum ex ocio meo q̄ ex aliorū negocijs reipublice venturum.

Nam saepe audiui Quī tum Maximū / Publiū Scipionē: pręterea ciuitatis nostrę pręclaros viros solitos ita dicere / quum imagines maiorū tuerētur vehementissime sibi animū ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non cerā illā neq; figurā tātam vim in sese habere sed memoria rerū gasterū eā flāmam egregijs viris ī pectore creſcere: neq; prius sedari: q̄ virtus eorū famam atq; gloriā amadequauerit.

At qui cōtra quis oīm est his moribus qui nō de diuicijs / et sūptib⁹ / non probitate / neq; industria cum maioribus suis contendat.

Etiam homines noui q̄ per virtutē soliti erāt nobilitatem anteuenire: furtim: et per latrocinia potius quam ex bonis artibus ad imperia et honores nitunt.



## The batayle

Perinde quasi pretura  
et cōsularus atq; oia a-  
lia huiusmodi: p se ip-  
sa clara et magnifica  
sunt: ac non pinde habere  
antur: vt eos: qui ea su-  
stinere virtus est.  
Verum ego liberius al-  
tiusq; processi dū me ci-  
uitatis piger, tedetq;  
Nunc ad inceptum o-  
pus redeo.

offices shulde be counted of worthynes and dignite: after as the  
bertue and honour is / of suche as rule in the same offices and hy-  
rowmes. But playnly affirmyng the treuth: the man maketh the  
office noble & worthypfull: yf his maners shyne by vertue. But  
yf his conuersacion be contrary / no office / no rowme / can make  
hym noble nor worthypfull. But this omittynge I haue proce-  
ded in this pzologue with ouer sette circūstaunce / and also with  
somewhat to moche libertie of wordes / more than in a pzeface is  
requisite: for that it pyteeth me of these tedious maners of this  
oure cite of Rome. But now weyll I come to my mater pur-  
posed / and first interpyse begon.

**O**f what mater Salust intendeth to treat in pro-  
ces of this boke / and what causes moueth hym of  
suche mater to wryte. The fyrst chapter.

**B**ellum scripturus  
sum: quod popu-  
lus Romanus cū  
Iugurtha rege Numi-  
darum gessit.

Primum quod magnū  
et atrox variaq; victo-  
ria fuit.

Deinde: quia superbia  
nobilitatis tum primū  
obuiatum est.

Quæ contentio diuina



**I**n this warke I purpose to wryte of the  
warre / whiche the Romayns had and execu-  
ted agaynst the tyranne Iugurth / wrongful-  
ly blurpyng the name of a kynge / ouer the  
lande of Numidy. Many causes moueth me  
by wrytynge to commende this warre to per-  
petual memozy. first for that in the same was  
foughten at many tymes with great multitude of men on eyther  
partie / with moche cruell murdre and variable victozy: the Ro-  
mains somtyme / somtyme the Iugurthins preuaylyng in victo-  
ry. Forthermore bycause that first at this batayle: & from thens  
forwarde the comen people of Rome matched with the prin-  
ces / resistynge theyr pride. For where as before this tyme the no-  
ble men of Rome oppressed and subdued the commens with vn-  
reasonable rigoure / the commens elect one named Marius a  
man of basse byrth to be cōsull of Rome / and captaine in this ba-  
tayle: whiche after he had obtayned victozy ouer Iugurth with  
great glozy / triumphe / & fauour of the commontie / he suppozted  
them in such wyse agaynst the noble men: that of the same rose a  
ciuile batayle & greuous disorde. bytwene the noble men and cō-  
mens of Rome: Marius maintenyng the cōmens partie / & Sil-  
la susteyning y partie of the noble men. In somoch y finally by-  
twene these two pties & captayns of y same was foughten an vn-  
kynde / vnnaturall / & cruel batel: to y greuous ruine of y Romayn  
ne empyre / & subuersion of the cōmen wele. Which cōtencion and

bariaunce confounded bothe the lawes of god and man/and by the same were all good ordinaunces disordred. And this same furious debate & folp proceeded at last to so vnreasonable madnesse and excecate fury / that it neuer desisted/noz this bariaunce and discencion bytwene the noble men and commens neuer ceased: tyll tyme that cruell and mortal batayle foughten bytwene both parties/and tyll tyme that also destruction of the lande of Italy cōpelled both parties at last to consyder theyr owne blynde folp & cruell fury: & so finally to mittigate & fynishe their debate & vnreasonable dyssencion. But fyrst of I begyn to write of this batell I shall repeat and declare a fewe thinge done befoze this warre began: to the intent that all thinge moost chese/woorthy & expediet to be knowen/may be moze euident/open/& clere/to the reders.

**How the kyng Massinissa came into the fauour of the Romyans / and how the lande of Numydy was committed vnto hym. The seconde chapter.**

**T**he Romyans had thre notable and famous batayles agaynst the Carthaginēces / in which the same Romyans had great dammage. Howbeit in conclusion of euery batayle they wanne victorie of theyr enemies: in the seconde of these batayles what tyme Hanniball duke and captayne of the Carthaginēces wasted the welch and riches of Italy moze than any other ennemy had euer done befoze/after the Romyans began to haue any great name and to delate theyr dominion: A famous prince named Massinissa kyng of the lande of Numydy was receyued into frendshyppe & fauour of the Romyans: by one Publius Scipio captayne of the sayd Romyans/whiche Scipio afterwarde for his manhode was named Scipio Affrican/bycause he ouercame & subdued the lande of Affrike. This Massinissa so receyued into fauour of the Romyans in the foresayd batayle dyd many noble and famous actes of chypualty / with bygh valiantise & corage. For which dedes: after the Romyans had ouercome the Carthaginēces & theyr cite: and after they had taken prisoner the kyng Sciphar/ which had in Affrike a woorthy/ great/ & large empire the people of Rome gaue frely vnto the same kyng Massinissa/ all suche cities & landes as they had taken and wone in batayle. For which benefites so magnificēt & ample Massinissa cōtinued vnto them in profitable & faythfull frendshyp his lyfe induryng:

cuncta et humana permiscuit, eoq; vecordia processit, vt studijs ciuilibus, bellum, atque uastitas Italiae, finem faceret.

Sed prius huiuscemodi initium expediam, pauca supra repetam, quo ad cognoscendum oia illustra magis magisque in aperto sint.

Bello punico Secūdo, quo dux Carthaginēsiū Hannibal post magnitudinē nominis Romani Italiae opes maxime attriuerat.

Massinissa rex Numidarū in amicitiam receptus a Publio Scipione (cui postea Africae nō cognomē ex virtute fuit) multa, et preclara rei militaris facinora fecerat: ob quā uictis Carthaginensibus et capto Sciphace (cuius i Africa magnū atq; latum imperiū ualuit) populus Romanus quascunq; urbes et agros manu ceperat regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Massiniae bona atq; honesta nobis pmauit. Sed imperij uictoriae finis idē fuit.



Deinde Micipsa filius  
regnum solus obtinuit  
it Manastabale et Ga-  
lussa fratribus morbo  
absumptis. Is Adher-  
balem et Hiempfalem  
ex se genuit: Iugurthā  
q; filiū Manastabalis  
quē Massinīa (q; or-  
tus ex cōcubina erat)  
priuatū reliquerat: eo  
dem cultu quo liberos  
suos domi habuit.

Qui vbi primū adole-  
uit pollēs viribus, de-  
cora facie, sed multo  
maximo ingenio valis-  
sus: non se luxui, neq;  
inertiae corrūpendum  
dedit, sed vti mos illi-  
us est gētis: equitare,  
iaculari, cursu cum e-  
qualib; certare, et cū  
gloria ante omēs iret:  
oībus tamē charus es-  
set: ad hoc pleraq; tem-  
pora in venādo agere.  
Leonem atq; alias fer-  
ras primus, aut in pri-  
mis ferire, plurimū fa-  
cere: et minimum de se  
ipse loqui. Quibus re-  
bus Micipsa tametsi i  
initio letus fuerat ex-  
stimans virtutem Iu-  
gurthę regno suo glori-  
ę affore: tamen postq;  
hominē adolescentem  
exacta aetate sua, et p-  
uis liberis, magis, ma-  
gis q; crescere intelli-  
git: vehemēter eo nego-  
cio p̄motus in animo  
multa volebat.

Terrebat eum natura

## The batayle

but at last his lyfe ended / and the welth of his empire decayed al  
so with hym. This kynge departyng left behynde hym thre son-  
nes: whose names were Micipsa, Manastabal / and Galussa:  
of whome Micipsa succeded his father / and alone obtayned the  
kyngdome: after that this other two bzyethern Manastabal and  
Galussa / were departed frome this lyfe by sickenesse. This Mi-  
cipsa had two sonnes named Adherball & Hiempfall. But Ma-  
nastabal his bzother whiche departed (as sayd is) left behynde  
hym one sonne nat laufully bozne / but a bastarde / begoten of his  
cōcubine: wherfore departyng he left hym orbate without lande  
or lyeode. This cōsydering Micipsa suffred hym nat to faute  
nor decay: but forasmoche as he was his bzothers sonne / receyued  
hym into his court / & hym cherpyshed in lyke wyse as he dyd his  
owne sonnes / Adherball and Hiempfall. This Iugurth after  
that he was a lytell growen bp to age: was myghty in strength  
comely / and fayre of face: but moost of all / excellent of wyt & wyl-  
dome. Nor he gaue nat hymselfe to be corrupt with lust nor in-  
crafty flouthe: but as is the custome & maner of the people of Au-  
midy hymselfe he exercised / somtyme in rydyng / somtyme in ca-  
sting the dart & iusting / and somtyme in connyng & wylsting /  
with his companions of lyke age. And nat withstandyng / that  
in laude and prayse he passed all his perys: yet none enuied hym  
but he was detely beloued / cherpyshed / and lauded of all men.  
Moreouer he passed moche of his tyme in huntynge of wylde be-  
stes whiche in that lande habounded: he was the first / or one  
among the first which durst assaile and streyke the lyon / and other  
cruell and wylde bestes: he dyde moche: and lytell sayd or boyled  
of hymselfe. For suche demeanour his vnclē Micipsa at first be-  
gynnynge was gladd and ioyfull: supposynge that in tyme to  
come the manly behauour and strength of Iugurth shuld be glo-  
ry and honour to all his kyngdome. But afterwarde in processe  
of tyme whan he cōsydred and vnderstode his lyfe approchyng  
fast to ende his naturall sonnes yong / & vnexpt. And this yong  
man Iugurth in honour and fauour dayly encreasynge moze and  
moze he reuolued many thynges in mynde greatly moued with  
suche sollicitude and belynesse. Forthermoze he cōsydred / that  
all men of kynde be naturallly inclined to desyre / to rule / and  
commaunde by lordshyppe: rather than to be ruled and subiect.  
And howe man is prone and hedlynge inclined to fulfill the de-  
sires of his mynde dzedynge no daungers: nor suspectynge no  
peryll / whyle he is erredate by ambition and desyre of lordshyp.  
Moreouer aduysynge the oportunitie of his owne age / and of the  
age of

age of his chyldren which for yongh were nat able to resyst any power or violence: whiche oportunitie is wont to be nat small comfort / audacite and courage / nat onely to bolde herces / but also to meane men and cowardest intending to conspyre agaynst they: princes in hope of pray and promotions. Such conspyderacions feared soze the mynde of Micipsa / belyde these his drede and dolour was more augmented: whan he behelde the fauour & herces of all his subgettes of the lande of Numidy utterly inclyned to Iugurth: wherfore to put to deth the same Iugurth by any gyle (as his purpose was to do) he drad moost of all: dowtyng yst therof myght succede by twene hym and his subgettes some insurrection or batayle. Micipsa compassed on euery syde with these difficulties / was soze troubled in mynde. And whan he sawe that nother by strength nor gyle he myght distroy a man so well beloued of the commons / (as was Iugurth) at last he deuised an other way to rye hym: and that without daunger or suspencion / wherfore Micipsa aduerting that Iugurth was redy of hande to stryke / auerous and moche despyous of honour and laude of chyualtry / he concluded with hymselfe to obiect hym to daunger and peryll of warre: and by that meane to assay the fortune of batayle.

Nowe at the same season the Romans warred agaynst a cite of Hispayne named Numance: vnto whiche warre diuers kynges to the commons associate sent vnto them locours agaynst the same cite. Amonge whome Micipsa also sent a fayre company of hozsmen and fotemen: ouer whome he made Iugurth captaine: and sent hym forth with them into Hispayne / trusting that ther he lightly shuld be ouerthrowen and slayne in batayle: other in shewyng his manhod and strength / or els by spersnes and crueltie of his ennemyes. But this thyng for tuned moche contrary to his opinion. For Iugurth was of mynde and courage balaunt and bolde / and of wytte quicke and redy / so that after he had perceyued the disposicion / behauiour and maners of Publius Scipio: at that tyme captayne of the romains / and whan he had consydered also the maners of his ennemyes / he behaued hymselfe in suche wyse with moch labour / belynes and cure / in obeyng his captaine with so good maner & often tymes countryng his ennemyes without drede of perill. In somoch that within short tyme he came to so great fame and worthyppe / that vnto the romains he was maruelous dere and well beloued / and of the Numantines drade as deth: and certaynly / among the cheryst he was worthy and balaunt in batayle: and also good of counsell / of wysdome pryncynant and circumspect. Which two thynges he moche hatre to be in one man both togyder: for wysdom is often wont to

Iugurth.

B.i.

mortalium auida imperij: et preceps ad explendam animi cupidinem.

Præterea oportunitas fuit liberorumque aetatis: quæ etiâ mediocres viros spe præde transfusos agit. Ad hoc studia Numidarum in Iugurtham accensa.

Ex quibus si talis virum doctus interfecisset / nequa seditio / aut bellum oriretur / anxius erat. His difficultatibus circumuentus: ubi videt / neque per vim / neque per insidias / opprimi posse hominem / tam acceptum popularibus: quærat Iugurtham manu promptam et appetens gloriæ militaris: statuit eum obiectum re periculis / et eo modo fortunam tentare.

Igitur bello Numantino Micipsa quum populo romano equitum / atque peditum auxilia mitteret: sperans vel ostendendo virtutem: vel hostium seuitiam: facile eum occisurum: prefecit Numidum / quos in Hispaniam mittebat.

Sed ea res longe aliter ac ratus erat / euenit. Nam Iugurtha (ut erat ipse) atque acris ingenio / ubi naturam Publij Scipionis / qui tum Romanus imperator erat: et mores hostium cognouit / multo labore / multa cura / præterea modeste me parèdo: sepe obuiam eundo periculis: in tantâ claritudinē breui puenierat / ut nostris vehementer charus / Numantinis maxime terrori esset. Ac sane (quod difficillimum est) in primis et plio strenuus erat: et bonus consiliarius: quorum alterum ex providentiâ



tia timorē: alterū ex au-  
datia temeritatem ple-  
rumq; afferre solet.

Igitur imperator omnes  
fere res asperas per Iu-  
gurtham agere: in amicis  
habere: magis magisq; eū  
indies amplecti.

*may* Quippe cuius consilium:  
neq; inceptum ullum frus-  
tra erat. Huc accedebat  
munificentia animi et in-  
genij solertia, quibus re-  
bus Iugurtha multos ex  
Romanis sibi familiari  
amicitia cōiunxerat. Ea  
repestare in exercitu no-  
stro fuere q̄ plures nomi-  
atq; nobiles, quibus diui-  
tiarū bono atq; honesto po-  
ciores erant: factiosi do-  
mipotentis apud socios  
clari magis quā honesti:  
qui Iugurthā nō medio-  
crem animū pollicitādo  
*directe* accendebant: Si Micipsa  
rex occidisset: fore, vt so-  
lus imperio Numidię po-  
tiretur. In ipsa maximā  
virtutem. Romæ omnia  
venalia esse.

**S**ed postquam Numā-  
tia deleta, Publi⁹ Sci-  
piodimittere auxilia,  
et ipse reuerti domum de-  
creuit: donatū atq; lau-  
datū magnifice pro cōci-  
one Iugurthā i pretoriū  
adduxit: ibiq; secreto mo-  
nuit: vt potius publice q̄  
priuatim amicitia popu-  
li Romani coleret. Neu  
aliquibus largiri insue-  
sceret. Periculose a pau-  
cis emi: quod multorum  
esset.

## The batayle

make men a ferde and to drede many peryls bycause of prou-  
dence. But boldnes and audacite causeth men to be rashe and  
solehardy/ bycause of haut courage. But his wysdome directed  
his strength / and his strength was obedient to wysdome.  
Wherfore Scipto the captaine dyd almost euery icopardous  
and wyghty thyng by hand & counsell of Iugurth: hym coun-  
tyng among his chese frendes and dayly cheryshed hym more  
& more and no marueyle/ for there was no counsell/ no: interpri-  
se begon of Iugurth frustrate oz in bayne/ but al came to good  
effect. Besyde these gyftes aboue sayd he was curtes of mynde  
lyberall/ and of wyt ryght discrete & prudent: by which gyftes  
he adioyned vnto hym many of þ romains in famliet frende  
shyp. At that same season in the army of Rome were ryght ma-  
ny newe: and also auncient gentylmen / whiche set more by ri-  
ches than goodnes oz honeste. At home in Rome were they  
sowers of dyscorde and debatfull / great in fame amonge the  
frendes of the romains. But more famous by worthyppe and  
rowme, than by honest conuersacion. These kyndled the mynde  
of Iugurth nat a lytell promisyng often tymes and sayeng to  
set his courage on fyre: that if the kyng Micipsa discesed the  
tyme shulde come that Iugurth alone shulde enioye the holo  
kyngdome of Numidy without any partynier. For in hym  
(they sayd) was great vertue/ great manhode/ strength & au-  
dacite with wysdome/ able to gouerne suche a kyngdome: and  
nothyng was so iniust and false but that myght be iustified  
at Rome for gold/ and all thynges were there to be solde by co-  
uetyse of noble men.

**Howe Publius Scipio counselled Iugurth at  
his departyng after the cyte of Numance was  
dystroyed. ¶ The thyrd chapter.**

**T**hus contynued Iugurth in the romains ar-  
my in Hyspayne with great fauour of þ romains  
and namely of Scipio the captaine: tyll at last the  
army of Rome had dystroyed the sayd cite of Nu-  
mance. Than Publius Scipio concluded to re-  
tourne agayne to Rome: and to congye and licence suche so-  
cours as were sent vnto hym from other kynges: amonge all  
other he called Iugurth vnto hym: and befoze the multitude of  
all the army assembled/ lauded and commended hym magni-  
ficently recytyng his glorioys actes and manly dedes of chy-  
ualry. And after that worthely and rythely rewarded hym for  
his labours. This done: he conueyed hym into the captains

tent: and there secretly warned hym that he shulde cōtinue and worshyppe the frendshyppe of the people of Rome rather hole togyder and commonly/ than priuately leanyng to any singular rulers. Moreouer addyng these monicions: that he shulde nat rather rewarde and be liberall to a fewe priuatly: than to a hole cōmente/ sayeng that it was a perillous thyng to bye that: of a fewe persons: whiche belonge vnto many in commen.

If he wolde perseuer and contynue in so noble condicions as he had begon: he shulde shortly come to great honour / glory and dignite royall/ more than he wolde desyre. But if he wold procede and labour to ascende ouer hastily/ than shuld both he and his riches fall heedlyng to ruyne and decay. After Scipio had sayd these wordes with such lyke: he licensed Jugurth to depart/ and sent hym vnto his vnckle Micipsa agayne into the lande of Numidy with letters direct vnto the same kyng Micipsa: of whiche letters the tenure and sentence hereafter ensueth: and was suche.

**T**he sentence of the letter dyrect from Publius Scipio captaine of the romaine army in Hispayne vnto Micipsa kyng of Numidy.

**T**he fourthe chapter.

**P**ublius Scipio captaine of the romaine army in Hispayne sendeth helth and salutation to Micipsa kyng of Numidy frende and felowe of the empire of Rome. The vertue/ strength and noblenes of your newe Jugurth whome ye sent vnto our socours hath ben proued in this warre of Numance/ ferre excellent aboue any other warriour of our retyrue/ which thyng I knowe for certayne is to your great pleasure & gladnes. For his worthy merytes he is right dere and well beloued vnto vs. And we shall deuoyr vs to the best of our power that he may be lyke dere and well beloued of all the senatours and people of Rome. I am surely ryght ioyefull on your behalfe of this your treasure Jugurth: thaūcent ampte bytwene you & me: byndeth me to be gladde of this your commodityte. For certaynely lo here haue ye a man of Jugurth worthy to discende of such noble stocke as ye ar and as his grandfather Massinissa was in his dayes: whome he foloweth in all pointes of vertue and magnanimite.

**H**owe the kyng Micipsa adopted Jugurth vnto his sonne.

**T**he fyfte chapter.

Jugurth.

B. ii.

Si permanere vellet in suis artibus: ultro et illi gloriam / et regnū venturū: Sin properantius pergeret: suam pecuniam et ipsū precipitem casurū. Sic locutus: cum literis eum (quas Micipsa redderet) dimisit. Earum sententia hæc erat.

**J**ugurthæ tui in bello Numantino longe maxima virtus fuit.

Quam rem tibi certe gaudio esse scio. Nobis ob merita sua charus est: ut idem senatui et populo Romano sit: summa opemur.

Tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor. En habes virum dignū te atq; auctore suo Massinissa.



## The batayle

**I**gitur rex ubi ea quae fama acceperat: ex literis imperatoris esse ita cognouit: tum virtute, tum gratia viri permotus flexit animum suum.

Et Iugurtham beneficijs vincere aggressus est.

Statimque eum adoptauit: et testamento pariter cum filiis heredem instituit.

Sed ipse paucos post annos morbo atque etate confectus: cum sibi finem vitae adesse intelligeret: coram amicis / et cognatis itemque Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis, dicitur huiusmodi verba cum Iugurtha habuisse.

**P**arvum ego Iugurtham te amicum patre: sine spe: sine opibus: in meum regnum suscepi: existimans non minus me tibi: quam liberis (si genuissem) ob beneficia charum fore.

Neque ea res falsum me habuit. Nam ut alia magna et egregia facta omittam



**W**ith these letters of Scipio Iugurth returned into Numpey unto his uncle Micipsa: where he was worthely & loyfully receyued of the comentie. But after that the kyng Micipsa vnderstode by these letters of commendacion of the captaine Scipio: that the valiaunt and noble actes of Iugurth were trewe: which longe before he had harde by report of the comen fame: than what for the nobles of Iugurthe & fauour bothe of his dedes and commendacion of Scipio he moued his mynde chaunged from his forsayd purpose and nat forther intended to oppresse Iugurth by malice nor enuy. But concluded to attempt to ouercome hym with benefites & kyndnesse: to the intent that he so ouercome / shulde nat in tyme to come fynde in his hert for pyte to indomage hym nor his heyres. And soone after this purpose the same Micipsa adopted Iugurth vnto his sonne: and farthermore decreed and ordayned in his testament that Iugurth shulde be one of his heyres: and partener in possession of his kyngdome togyder with his two naturall sonnes / Adherball and Hiempsall. But a feweyeres after this ordinaunce Micipsa what by age / what by syknesse / dyed nere vnto his ende of lyfe / and was consumed by age & dysease: wherfore considering his deth so fast appprochyng it is sayd that he called Iugurth before hym and than before many of his frendes and kynsmen: also in presence of his two naturall sonnes Adherball and Hiempsall / he had to the same Iugurth suche wordes as hereafter insue and folowe.

**T**he exhortacion which the kyng Micipsa alytell before his deth had to Iugurth.

**T**he sixt chapter.



**A**dere sonne Iugurthe / I knowe it is nat out of your remembraunce: howe after that ye had lost your father my brother I charitably & louyngly receyued you yonge & of tender age into my kyngdome: what tyme ye were without riches / without confort: and without any hope of confort or ryches: but very lykely to haue ben caste away. This dyde I / thynkyng that for thele my benefites and kyndnesse I shulde be vnto you nat lesse intyely beloued than of myne owne naturall chyldzen with my body begotten. Nor certainly this my hath nat dysceyued me. For why to ouerpasse your other

great / magnificent and excellent dedes of you ha'pauntly  
done befoze: specially now last of all cōmyng from the warre  
of Numance ye greatly adourned & inhaunced to honoure  
and glozy / bothe of myne owne persone & this my kyngdome.  
And where as the romains in foze tymes were frendes vnto  
vs: by your vertue and manly actes ye haue establisshed that  
amptie: and of frendes made them moche moze frendes. So  
that in Hispayne the name & glozy of our hous holde by your  
manhode is renouate and renewed. Thus finally: ye haue  
ouercome the enuy of your plwylers onely by your glorious  
actes and ballaūt interpyles: whiche is one of the moost har  
drest thynge to be done amonge mankynde and of moost  
difficultie. Wherfoze now my sonne Iugurth: sythe it is so:  
that nature hath nere concluded the ende of my lyfe: I admo  
nest charge and exhort you by the fayth of your right hand:  
and by the fayth and fidelite whiche ye owe to this my kyng  
dome I obtest and requyre you: that ye loue / mentayne and  
cheryshe these my two sonnes Adherball & Hicmptall: whiche  
of kyndred be nere to you / and by my benefite and kyndnes  
are bretherne vnto you. Forthermore I exhort you that ye  
couēnat leferre and moze pleasure to acquaynt and cōtoyne  
vnto you forayns oꝛ straungers: rather than to rectayne suche  
as be forned to you by naturall blode & kyndred. For neyther  
is a great army of men noꝛ habundance of treasours: & ch  
se  
locours oꝛ defence of a kyngdome: but moche rather trusty  
and faythfull frendes: whome a man can neyther compelle  
by foze of armes: noꝛ yet bye with golde noꝛ syluer to par  
seuer in stedfast ampte: but they be optayned & kept by kynd  
nesse / good dedes / fidelite and faythfulnesse. But among all  
frendes: who can be moze frendly and stedfast in ampte than  
brother to brother. Certaynly none ought to be moze loupng  
of naturall inclinacion. Oꝛ what straūger shal ye fynde fayth  
full and trusty to you: if ye shewe your selfe ennemy to your  
owne kynsmen. For sothe if ye cōpynue togyder honest / good  
and loupnge in agreable concoꝛde bytwene yourselfe: thanne  
this kyngdome which I committe and geue vnto you shall  
continae sure and stedfast: as it is now. But cōtrarely if ye  
be yll and disagrepyng among yourselfe: ye shall in short sea  
son make it ryght pooꝛe / feble and incertayne. For by loue  
peace and concoꝛde: small cyches / small lordshyppes / and ge  
nerally all small thynge increase and multiplie: by discoꝛde  
the grettest thynge of the worlde decay and fall vnto ru  
yne. But you my sonne Iugurthe bycause ye passe these  
myne other two naturall cosies in age and wyldome: therfoze  
it semeth you so moche moze than them: to make such a wyse  
Iugurth.

B.iii.

nouissime tu rediens Nu  
mancia meq; regnumq;  
meum gloria decorasti:  
tuaq; virtute Romanos  
ex amicis amicitimos se  
cisti.

In Hispania nomē fami  
liæ nostre renouatum est:  
postremo (quod difficili  
mum inter mortales est)  
gloria inuidiam vicisti.

Nunc quoniam mihi na  
tura finem vitæ facit: per  
hanc dexteram: per regni  
fidem moneo: obtestorq;  
te: uti hos qui genere tibi  
propinqui: beneficio meo  
fratres sunt: charos ha  
beas.

Neu malis alienos adiū  
gere: q̄ sanguine comuni  
stos retinere.

Non exercitus / neq; thes  
sauri presidia regni sūt.  
Verum amici, quos neq;  
armis cogere, neq; auro  
parare queas: officio et fi  
de pariuntur.

Quis autem amicitior q̄  
frater fratri? Aut quem  
alienum fidem inuenies:  
si tuis hostis fueris?

Equidē ego vobis regnū  
trado firmum: si boni eri  
tis: sin mali: imbecillum.

Nam cōcordia parue res  
crescunt, discordia maxi  
me dilabuntur.

Ceterum Iugurtha ante  
hos te (quia ætate et sapi  
entia prior es) ne aliter  
quid eueniat prouidere  
debet.



## The batayle

Nam in omni certamine  
qui opulentior est: etiam  
si accipit iniuriam tamē  
(quia plus potest) facere  
videtur.

Vos autem Adherbal et  
Hiempsal colite et obser-  
uate hunc talem virum:  
imitamini virtutem: et  
enitemini: ne ego melio-  
res liberos sumpsisse vi-  
dear: q̄ genuisse.

Ad ea Jugurtha tametsi  
regem sibi locutum intel-  
legebat: et ipse longe ali-  
ter in animo agitabat, ta-  
men pro tempore beni-  
gne respondit.

Micipsa paucis post die-  
bus moritur.

Postq̄ illi regio more ius-  
ta magnifice fecerāt: res-  
guli in vnum conueniūt:  
vt inter se de cūctis nego-  
tijs disceptarent.

Sed Hiempsal, qui minis-  
mus ex illis erat: natura  
ferox: etiam ante igno-  
bilitatem Jugurthæ: quia  
materno genere impar-  
erat: despiciens: dextera  
Adherbalis assedit, ne me-  
di ex tribus (quod apud  
Numidas honori ducit)  
Jugurtha foret,

prouision bothe for your selfe and for them also that nothing  
happen otherwyle than well. For in euery stryffe and debate:  
howe be it he whiche is myghtyer and rycher often suffreth  
iniury. Neuerthelesse it semeth moze that he dothe wronge  
thanne suffreth: bycause that he is moze of power and myght  
thanne his feble aduersary. But ye my dere sonnes Adher-  
ball and Hiempsall se that ye worshyppe and loue this Ju-  
gurth your worthy vncle. And beware that ye nat offende  
no: dysplease hym: but folow his vertue & manly behauour.  
And do your deuoir to the best of your power after his exam-  
ple behaupnge your selfe / so discretely and so wylfely that it  
be nat hereafter reported by me / that I haue takenne vnto me  
by adoption / better chyldzen thanne I haue begotten. Thus  
concluded the kyng Micipsa his wordes. How best Jugurth  
well perceyued the kynges wordes: but sayned and spoken  
agaynst his hert: if any other remedy myght haue ben foude:  
neuertheles he answered benygne for the tyme / all if he  
thought and reuolued in his mynde moche otherwyle / and  
contrary to his humble and mylde answere.

**Howe the kyng Micipsa departed from lyfe /  
and of the first cause of diffencion and disorde  
betwene Jugurth / Adherball & Hiempsall.**

**The .vii. chapter.**



At longe after the kyng Micipsa  
decesed whose bethe was dolourous and  
soze bewayled of all his subgett: but most  
of all to his naturall sonnes it was to be la-  
mēted: and nat without great cause as the  
procelle of this hystorie shall afterwarde  
declare. But after the kyngs funerall exe-  
cutes were magnificently ended as apertayned to his state  
royall. The thye princes that is to say Adherball / Hiempsall /  
and Jugurth anone assembled to the intent to commen and  
treat of busynesses of the royalme / cōcernyng particion and  
separation of the same: and all other thynges conuenient.  
But whan they shulde sytte and take their places in order:  
Hiempsall pongest of the thye was somwat fyers of nature /  
and disposed to statelnesse. And in mynde longe befoze this  
tyme he dysdayned the ignobilite of Jugurth / for almoche as  
he was vnlyke vnto them of byrth towchynge his mothers  
syde / and a bastarde bozne: as is sayd befoze. Wherfoze he  
dysdayned that the same Jugurthe shulde haue the place of  
moost honoure among them / whiche were naturall sonnes of

a kynge / and also lawfully borne: and so in contempt of Jugurth he set hym selfe downe on the ryght hande of his brother Adherbal: to the intent that Jugurth shoulde nat syle in the myddes bytwene them: whiche towne the Numydians count of most honour. And afterwarde howbeit his brother Adherbal requyred hym often to gyue place to Jugurth bycause of his age: yet vnder the coude he with moche payne induce hym therto: but at laste fatygate by requestes of his brother and of other noble men of the realme: he chaunged his place and set hym vpon the other syde with countenance declaryng his mynde nat contented. And thus at laste satte Jugurth for his age in the myddes bytwene them bothe/as in place of moost honour. Whanne the thre princes were thus sette and had communed of many thynges concernyng the administracion of the kyngdome: amonge many and dyuers other thynges Jugurth sayd / that all the statutes and ordynances whiche the kynge Micipsa hadde made spue yeres befoze his deth / ought of congruence to be adnulled as of none effecte. For in that season (as sayde he) his wyf what for age / what for sykkenesse was feble / dull and of small baloure. And therfore suche thynges as he had in that space enacted were done without wylsome or reason. Whanne Hiempsal herde Jugurth thus speke: he answered / sayenge that it pleased hym ryght well that it shoulde so be done. For within the same thre yeres (sayd he) our father Micipsa hath adopted you to his sonne / and in his testamēt ordeyned you to be partner of his kyngdome: whiche was the worst and most vnadvised dede that euer he dyd pinge or olde. Wherfore Jugurth accordyng to pour owne ordynance this must spyle of all be adnulled and broken / whiche done / my brother and I shall nat greatly contende for the remenant. These wordes of Hiempsal pearced the hert of Jugurth more profoundly thanne any man there thought or suspected. Wherfore from that tyme forwarde: what for was the of these wordes / and for drede of losse of his porcyon of the kyngdome / his mynde was in great trouble and anguyllhe. In somoche that from thens forth: he went aboute / pmygnyng / ordeyned / and onely reuolued in his mynde: by what gyle or treason Hiempsal myght be caught in his daunger. But whanne his purpose proceded but slowly forwarde / consyderyng that the frowarde desyre and vnrefrenable appetite of his mynde coude nat be mytigated nor pacyfied: he concluded to byng his enterpryse to effect by any maner meanes outhur by pryuy treason and gyle: or els by euident and open violēce & force of armes. But to retourne agayn where I left.

Deinde tamen vt aetati cōcederet / fatigatus a fratre: vix in partem alterā traductus est.

Ibi cum multa de administrando imperio differerēt: Iugurtha inter alias res ait: oportere quicquid nunc cōsulta et decreta oīa rescindi.

Nam per ea tempora cōfectum annis Micipsam parum animo valuisse.

Tum Hiempsal placere sibi respondit: nam ipsum illum his tribus proximis annis adoptione in regnum peruenisse.

Quod verbum in pectus Iugurthae altius q̄ quisq̄ ratus erat descendit.

Itaq̄ ex eo tempore ira / et metu anxius: moliri / parare / atq̄ ea modo i animo habere: quibus Hiempsal per dolum capere tur. Que vbi tardius procedūt: neq̄ lenitur animus ferox: statuit quouis modo inceptum perficere.

Primo cōuentus: quem ab



regulis factum supra me-  
morauimus propter dissensio-  
nem placuit diuidi the-  
sauros. sine quo imperij sin-  
gulis constituit. Itaque teme-  
pus ad vtrā rem discer-  
nitur sed maturius ad pe-  
cuniam distribuendam.

**R**eguli interea in lo-  
ca propinqua the-  
sauris alijs alio cō-  
cessere. Sed Hiempfal in  
oppido Thirmida forte  
eius domo utebatur qui  
proxim⁹ licet Iugurth⁹  
charus acceptusque ei sem-  
per fuerat. Quem ille cas-  
su ministrum oblatū pro-  
missis onerat impellitque  
vti tanq̃ suam visens do-  
mum eat portarū clauēs  
adulterinas parat.

Nam vere clauēs ad Hi-  
empfalem referebantur.  
Caterum (vbi res postula-  
ret) seipsum cum magna  
manu venturum.

Numida mandata breui  
confecit.

## The batayle

In this first assemble of the thre prynces of whiche I spake  
before: it pleased them all that the treasours of kynge Micipsa  
shulde be deuyded among them bycause of this dyssencion.  
And also that the marches and boundes of eche of theyr domi-  
nions seuerally shulde be assigned to eche of them his por-  
cion. Wherfore the tyme was apoynted and prefixed whanne  
bothe shulde be done: but the tyme to departe the treasours  
was sonner assigned than to deuyde and limite the boundes  
of theyr dominions. This apoyntement made: the prynces de-  
parted company: the mynde of Jugurth nat a lottell inques-  
ted for the sayde checke of Hiempfall: for whiche cause he  
awayted his tyme to reuenge hym.

**How Jugurth by treason murdred Hiempfall  
the yonger sonne of kynge Micipsa.**

**The eyght chapter.**



**W**han the thre prynces were depart-  
ed in sonder: as I haue sayde before: they  
sotourned in sondry places: and that nere  
to the towne where the treasours lay. Hiem-  
psall drewe hym to a towne named Thir-  
myda nat ferre distant. In whiche towne  
he had a dwellinge place: than as hadde  
ned in the same towne was a man of the garde longynge to  
Jugurth of his lordes ryght derely beloued / and with hym  
greatly in fauoure. This seruauit of Jugurth was moche  
conuersaunt and familer in the house of Hiempfall / whan  
Jugurth by chaunce remembred this oportunitie to his mys-  
cheuous purpose: he called secretly vnto hym his sayde ser-  
uaunt. And after many wordes spoken to serche his mynde: at  
last by promesse of large rewardes he induced hym to consent  
to go as if it were to visyte the house of Hiempfall: as he had  
often done before tyme: and by some meanes & craft to coun-  
tersaype the keyes of the gates and bynge them vnto hym.  
For the ryght keyes: after the gates were locked: nyghtly we-  
re delpuerd vnto Hiempfall hym selfe: so myght they nat be  
vnmysted the space of a nyght. Whan Jugurth had induced  
th⁹ Numidian to consent to this dede: he prynced hymselfe w<sup>th</sup>  
in shorte tyme after to come to the sayd lodgyng of Hiempfal  
what tyme & case shulde requyre: with great power of armed  
men. The Numidian in shorte tyme perfourmed the com-  
maundement of Jugurth / in somoche that he brought vnto  
hym the countersayped keyes: as he had apoynted. Jugurth

hereof was gladde in mynde: and anone prepared secretly a great company of armed men: whome he commaunded to bringe vnto hym the heed of Hiempsall trenched from the body: and in executyng of this dede he commaunded them all to be ruled by the Numidian whiche had counterfayted the keys. This done the sayd Numidian conuayed these armed men pzeuply by nyght into the house of Hiempsall / lyke as he was informed by Jugurth. Whan this treatoure satellyte was entred with his company & had broken into the inwarde edifices: diuers of them serched for the prince Hiempsall: some murdered his seruantes as they lay slepyng in theyr beddys suspectyng no suche treason: some other a wakened with the dynne sterre by and mette theyr ennemyes defendyng themselves but all in vayne: for they had no leysur to arme themselves. And therfore were they slayne anone vnarmed of men armed & apointed to myschefe: whan the treatours had longe sought Hiempsall and myght nat fynde hym: than serched they more nerely euery hyd corner / and secret close places they brast open: all was full of dynne mengled with nople and clamour: So moche they sought and so nerely: that at last they foude out Hiempsall / hyd in the cotage of a pooze seruyng woman to whiche place he had fled at begynnyng of this affray: as a man astonyed for drede and ignorant of the place. Anone as the Numidians had foude hym they slewe hym without any mercy. And as they were commaunded cutte of his heed and brought the same to Jugurth: but shortly after: the fame of this cruell and tyrannous dede was diuulgate & ouerspred all the landes of Affrike: Adherball and all they whiche were vnder subiection of Micepsa whyle he lyued: were sore troubled & abashed with fere for this tyrannous crueltie of Jugurth. The Numidians anone deuyded themselves into two parties. The moost part drewe and leaned to Adherball / but suche as were moost manly and best to batayle drewe them to the other partie: and leaned to Jugurth. wherfore he made redy as great an army as he myght ioynyng vnto hym and bypnyng vnder his subiection the townes & cities of Numidy: some by violence / and some other by theyr owne volutary wyll. In somoch that finally he kept vnder his subiection and bondage the hole lande of Numidy. But nat withstandyng that Adherball had sent embassadours to Rome: to certify the senatours of the deeth of his brother how cowardly he was murdered: & also to informe them of his owne miserable fortune & in what case he was: neuerthelesse he made hymselfe redy to fyght w<sup>th</sup> Jugurth as he which had trust & confidence in multitude of his cowdyours assembled redy to batayle.

Atq; (vti doctus erat) noctu Iugurtha milites introduct. Qui postq in gdes irrupere: diuersi regem querebant: dormientes alios: alios occurrentes interfecere.

Scrutari loca abdita: clausa affrigere: strepitum et tumultu oia miscere.

Quum interi Hiempsal reperitur/occultans se in tugurio mulieris ancille: quo in initio pauidus: et loci ignarus plugerat.

Numide caput eius (vti iussi erant) referunt. Cæterū fama tanti facinoris per omnem Aphricā breui deuulgatur. Adherbalē omnesq; qui sub imperio Micipsæ fuerāt/metus inuadit. In duas partes Numide discedunt. Plures Adherbalem sequuntur: Sed illum alterum bello meliores.

Igitur Iugurthaquā maximas potest copias parat: vrbes partim vi: alias voluntate: impio suo adiungere: Omni Numidiæ imperare.

Adherbal (tamen si legatos Romam miserat: qui senatum docerent de cede fratris: et fortunis suis) tamen fretus multitudine militum parat armis contendere.



## The batayle

**H**owe Jugurth ouercame Adherball in batayll and putte hym to flyght: howe Adherball fledde to Rome to cōplayne to the senatours: and howe Jugurthe accloyed with rewardes many of the rulers of Rome: by whose fauour his cruelte was defended.

### The .ix. chapter.

**S**ed ubi res ad certamen venit: victus ex prelio profugit in provinciam.

Ac dehinc Romam contendit.

Tum Iugurtha peractis consilijs postq̃ omni Numidia paciebatur: in ocio facinus suum in animo reputas: timere populū Romanū: neq; aduersus irā eius vsq; nisi in auaricia nobilitatis: et pecunia sua spem habere.

Itaq; paucis diebus post cū auro et argēto multo Romam legatos mittit: quibus precepit primum uti veteres amicos muneribus repleant: deinde nos exquirant. Postremo quacūq; possint largien do ne cunctentur.

Sed ubi legati Romam venerunt: et ex precepto regis hospitib; alijsq; quorū ea tempestate in senatu autoritas pollebat: magna munera misere:



**M**ow had Jugurth assembled his hooft redy vnto batayle: nat lyke in multitude to the company of Adherball: but as I sayd before moche bolder better expert & exercised in warre. On the other partie Adherball had his people redy apointed/and both the armyes approached togyder. But whan they toynded batayle/ and whan it came to byckerynge: that the matter must be tryed with strokes. Anone Adherball was banqueshed: and to saue his lyfe fledde from the batayle into a prouince marchynge on the lande of Numidy: and frome thens with all hast spedde hym vnto Rome to complayne his miserable fortune/ and to requyre socours/ as I shall afterwarde declare. But than Jugurth whan he had all the lande of Numidy at his pleasure/ counselled with his frendes of many thynges. At conclusion: whan he consydzed by hymselfe that he had slayne Hiempsall and chased Adherball out of his kyngdome: whan he was ydle and at rest: he often secretly reuolued in mynde his owne crueltie: soze dreydunge what punishment the Romans wolde ordayne agaynst the same. No: agaynst the ire and displeasure of the Romans had he none other hope no: confort/ saue in the couetysle of the noble men of Rome/ and in thabundaunce of his treasours: wherewith he trusted to corrupte the rulers of Rome to be fauorable to hym.

This consydzed within fewe dayes after he sent to Rome embassadours with moche golde and siluer to whome he gaue in commaundement: that first of all they shulde satisfy his olde frendes with rewardes and money/ and than to spare no gyftes to get vnto hym mo new frendes. And brefely that they shulde nat spare no: tary to procure vnto hym fauourers and mainteyners of his part: and all thynges for his auantage by gyftes and promysles. But after these embassadours were come to Rome: accordyng to the comaundement of theyr kyng: they gaue and sent to his acquayntance and frendes/ and to suche as amonge the senatours: at that tyme had moost authozite: large and great rewardes.

In somoche that anone among them was so great a chaunge: that the maruelous enuy/hatred and euylwyll: which they had agaynst Jugurthe was all chaunged into fauour and grace amonge the noble men. Of whome some were so induced by gyftes recepued: and some other by hope of byrbes in tyme to come: that they went about among the senatours from one to one/labourynge & intretynge that at that season nothyng shulde be extremely nor greuously determined agaynst Jugurth. Thus after the embassadours of Jugurth had confidence and trust ynough in theyr cause they laboured to haue a day apointed to apere in court. The day of apparence was graunted as well to them as to Adherball: to Adherball as playntiffe: and to the embassadours as defendentes for Jugurth: whan the day assigned was come bothe the parties appered in court before the senatours / than after audience graunted / Adherball began to speke vnder forme folowynge/for complaint and declaration of his iniuries and oppression.

There insueth the oracyon of Adherball: deuised in forme deliberatiue: in whiche he exhorteth the senatours to commaunde socours & ayde to be assigned vnto hym / prouynge the same to be profitable/honest and easy to the Romains to do: profitable: that he myght cōtynue a frende vnto the empire of Rome: honest: for his father & grandfather had so deserued: easy to be done: for the Romains at that tyme had none other warre els where.

The .x. chapter.



Most dyscrete chosen fathers and noble senatours: Whicpfa my father at houre of his deth comaunded me that I shulde chynke nought els of the lande of Numidy to apertayne to me: saue onely the rule and administration of the same: affirmynge that the title of possession and empyre of the same belonged to you & to the people of Rome. Moreover he gaue me in commaundement to do my deuoyr: to be vnto you seruible aboute all thynges: both in place and in warre. And that I shulde count you vnto me in place of kynsmen: and nereest frendes of alpaunce. Sapenge that if I so dyd: than by your amite and frendshyppe I shulde fynde socours / ryches/and defence of the kyngdome of Numydy/and of me and myne

Tanta commutatio incessit: vt ex maxima inuidia et maliuolētia in gratiam et fauorem nobilitatis Iugurtha veniret. Quorū pars spe / alij premio inducti: singulos ex senatu ambiendo nitebantur: ne grauis in eum confuleretur. Igitur vbi legati satis confidunt: die cōstituto: senatus vtriusq; datur.

Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

Patres conscripti Mihi pater meus moriens praecepit: vt regni Numidae tantūmodo procuracionem existimarem meam: Ceterum ius et imperium eius penes vos esse populumque romanum: simul eniterer vobis domi militiaeque maximo vsui esse: vos mihi cognatorū et affinium loco ducere. Si ea secūsus in vestra amicitia exercitum / diuitias / munimenta regni me habiturum.



## The batayle

Quæ præcepta patris cū  
agitarẽ: Iugurtha (hos  
mo oĩum: quos terra sus  
tinet: sceleratissimus cō  
tempto vestro imperio/  
Massinissæ nepotem/a  
stirpe socium atq; amicū  
populi romani: regno / for  
tunisq; omnibus expulit.  
Atq; ego patres cōscripti  
(quoniam eo miseriarum  
vêturus eram) vellem po  
tius ob mea q̃ ob maiorū  
beneficia meorum: posse  
me auxilium a vobis pe  
tere: ac maxima debere  
mihi beneficia a populo  
romano: quibus vtinam  
non egerem.  
Sed si ea desiderāda erāt:  
vti debitis vterer.

Sed quoniam parū tuta  
p seip̃: a probitas est: neq;  
mihi in manu fuit: qualis  
foret Iugurtha: ad vos cō  
fugi patres cōscripti: qui  
bus (quod mihi miseris  
simum est) cogor prius one  
ri q̃ vsui esse.  
Ceteri reges aut bello vi  
cti in amicitiam recepti  
sunt: aut in suis dubijs re  
bus societatem vestram  
appetuerunt.

Familia nostra cū populo  
romano bello Carthagi  
nensi amicitiam instituit.  
Quo tempore: magis fi  
des eius q̃ fortuna peten  
da erat.

Quorum progeniem vos  
patres conscripti nolite  
pati me nepotem Massi  
nissæ frustra auxilium pe  
tere. Sed si ad impetran  
dum nihil causę haberem  
præter

in all tymes of nebe: which precept of my father: whyle I kest  
in mynde to obserue:odaynly Iugurth the moost cruell & cur  
sed of all men whome the grounde susteyneth / dyspysng your  
emppre: hath dyruen me from your kyngdome & from all my  
other goodes of fortune: nothpyng regardynge that I am ne  
uew of Massinissa and by myne auncetry a felowe and frende  
of the emppre and people of Rome. But certaynly worthy and  
chosen fathers: syth I am come to that misery that necessite cō  
strayneth me to despyre your ayde and socours: I wolde moch  
rather that I myght call for your helpe: for myne owne meri  
tes agaynst you done: than for the merites of my forefathers:  
and that by suche meanes of myne owne deserynge / your be  
nefites and socours were due vnto me / which wolde god that  
I neded nat at all: but if this your socours myght so of you be  
despyred by my merites & deseryng: than shulde I call boldly  
to you: and vse your socours of duety as myne auncetry haue  
done in tymes passed. But nowe syth it is so / that honest  
lyfe and innocence: in this worlde: fyndeth lytell surenesse by  
themselſe without proteccion of some other. Moreouer syth it  
was nat in my power to mitigate nor to withstande this ty  
rannous iniury of Iugurth. Therfore chosen fathers I am  
nowe fled vnto you as to my cheſe refuge / coarted to necessitie  
to requyre your socours and cōstrayned to put you to besynes  
& charge: before I haue done any pleasure or profet vnto you:  
whiche thyng greued me moost of all / and is one of my gretest  
miseries. Ryght worthy senatours other kynges haue ben re  
ceyued into yo<sup>r</sup> frendshyppe & fauour / after ye haue ouercome  
them in batayle / or els perceyuyng themselſe in danger and in  
doubtfull chaūches of fortune: they haue coucyted and despyred  
your felowshyppe and fauour / rather for they<sup>r</sup> owne wele than  
for yours. But moche contrately: our forefathers and rote of  
our lynage Massinissa confederated hymselfe with the people  
of Rome in the seconde batayle of Carthage: what tyme was  
more fapthfulnes to be trusted in them & they<sup>r</sup> good wyll / than  
of welth or riches to be opraýned of the romains / beyng at  
that tyme assayled with warre on euery syde: they<sup>r</sup> riches and  
treasours consumed by often batayles. Thus it is euident that  
our auncetry confederat nat themselſe to your felowshyp for  
they<sup>r</sup> owne defence: in hope of riches: in hope of dominion: nor  
for any other priuate profet / but onely for fauour & loue whiche  
they had vnto your emppre. Wherefore noble senatours suffre  
nat the progeny and bzaunches of this stocke to be destroyed.  
Suffre nat me whiche am neuewe of your trusty frende Mas  
sinissa to aske of you helpe and socours in bayne. But prudēt  
fathers: if it were so that I had none other cause to demaunde  
socours of

socours of you/ saue onely this miserable fortune wherewith  
 I am oppzessed: that I whiche was lately a kyng by lineall  
 dyscent: myghty of auncetry: excellent and clere of fame: ha-  
 bundgūt in riches and of men of armes / and now dysfozmed  
 by myserable calamite / pooze and nedy / so that I am con-  
 strayned to seke helpe & socours of other men: if I had none  
 other mater wherof to complayne / saue this miserable fortu-  
 ne onely. Neuerthelesse it longeth & is conuenient to the ma-  
 gesty of the people of Rome / to prohibite & to withstande in-  
 sury. And nat to suffice I kyngdome or dominion of any man  
 to ryle and increase by falshode & myscheuous tyranney. And  
 the ryght heyyes agaynst ryght agaynst iustice / and agaynst  
 reason / to be excluded from theyr true heritage. But verely  
 I am excluded and cast fozthe of that countrey / which the ro-  
 mayns in tyme passed gaue vnto my fozefathers: out of the  
 which countrey my father & grandfather accompanied with  
 your army and helpe: haue chased I kyng Siphax / and also  
 the Carthaginences / bothe moost violent enmyes to the e-  
 mye of Rome. Your benefites be spoled fro me: In this myn  
 iniury be ye dyspyed. Wo is me millerable crulate: Mas my  
 dete father Micipsa / at your gode dedes & kyndnes anenst  
 Jugurth come to this poynt and cōclusion: that he befoze all  
 other shuld namely be dystroyer of your lynage & chyldren:  
 whome ye haue made felowe in your owne losses: & also par-  
 tyner of your kyngdome: alas: than shal our stocke & household  
 neruer be quyet. Shall we alway betolled & turned in effu-  
 sion of blode / in batayle / in ryle & in chasynge fro our cōtrey.  
 ¶ Whyle the Carthaginences raygned in prosperite / we suf-  
 fered and that paciētly / & nat bodelerued all cruelte & betrac-  
 tion foz them were our enemies on euery syde of vs: our frendes  
 in whome we shuld haue founde socour at tyme of nede were  
 ferre dysioyned & separate from vs. Thus all our hope: all  
 our trust was in our strength & armout. But now after that  
 pestilent destruction of the Carthaginences is chased & casten  
 out of Affrike we cōtinued a tyme iopfull & quyet: passynge  
 our lyfe in peace and trāquillite / foz why we had no enemy:  
 except paradytture foz any iniury done agaynst you ye wold  
 commaūde vs to take your enemy foz ours also / as reason and  
 ryght requyred. But now we sodaynly & vnwarely to vs: this  
 Jugurth exaltynge hymselfe by his intollerable audacite / by  
 cruelte & pryde hath first slayne my brother & his owne nere  
 kynsmā Hēmplall: & in augmentynge his myschese hath  
 vsurped to hym as in pray my brothers part & porcion of the  
 kyngdome of Numphy / and after: seynge that he myght nat  
 take me lyke maner of trayne as he had done my brother /  
 Jugurth,

C. i.

preter miserandam fortu-  
 nam q̄ paulo ante ego rex  
 genere, fama, atq; copijs  
 potens: nunc deformatus  
 erumnis: inops alienas o-  
 pes expecto. Tamen erat  
 maiestatis populi roma-  
 ni prohibere iniuriā neq;  
 pati cuiusq; regnum pat  
 scelus crescere.

Verū ego his finibus ei-  
 ctus sum: quos maiorib;  
 meis populus roman⁹ de-  
 dit: vnde pater et auus  
 meus vna vobiscum ex-  
 pulere Siphacem et Car-  
 thaginenses. vestra bene-  
 ficia mihi erepta sūt: pa-  
 tres conscripti in mea in-  
 iuria despecti estis. Heu  
 me miserū. Huc me Mi-  
 cipsa pater beneficiarua  
 euasere. Vt quem tu pa-  
 rem cum liberis: uis, res  
 gniq; participem fecisti:  
 is potissimum stirpis tue  
 extinctor sit. Nunq̄ ne er-  
 go familia nostra quie-  
 rit? Semper ne ī sangui-  
 ne, ferro, fuga versabi-  
 mur? Dum Carthaginen-  
 ses incolumes fuere iure  
 omnia seua patiebamur  
 hostes a latere. Vos ami-  
 ci procul. Sed omnis in  
 armis. Postq̄ illa pestis ex  
 Africa eiecta est: leti pa-  
 cem agitabamus: quippe  
 quibus nullus hostis erat  
 nisi illi forte quem vos  
 iussissetis. Ecce autem ex  
 improviso: Iugurtha in-  
 tollerāda audacia, sceles-  
 re, atq; superbia sese effe-  
 rens: inatre meo atq; eo-  
 dem propinquo suo inter-  
 fecto primum regnū eius  
 sceleris sui predam fecit,



## The batayle

Post ubi in eisdem dolis  
me nequieuit capere: ni-  
hil minus q̄ vim aut bel-  
lum expectātem in impe-  
rio vestro (sicut videtis)  
extorrem patria, domo i-  
opem et coopartū mise-  
rijs effecit: vt vbiuis tu-  
ti⁹ q̄ in meo regno essem.  
Ego sic existimabam pa-  
tres conscripti vti predi-  
cantem audierā patrem  
meū qui diligenter cole-  
rent amicitiam vestram:  
eos multū laborem susci-  
pere, ceterū ex omnibus  
maxime tutos esse.  
Quod in familia nra fuit  
præstitit, vti in omnibus  
bellis adesset vobis. Nos  
vti per ocium tuti simus  
in manu vestra est.

Patres conscripti pater  
nos duos fratres reliquit  
sertium Iugurthā bene-  
ficijs suis ratus est con-  
sundum nobis fore.

Alter eorum necatus est,  
alter ei⁹ ipse ego manus  
impias vix effugi.

Quid agam⁹ aut quo po-  
tissimū infelix accedam⁹  
Generis oīa presidia ex-  
tincta sunt. Pater vti ne-  
cesse erat naturę cōcessit.

Fratri quem minime de-  
cuit propinquus per sce-  
lus vitam eripuit affines,  
amicos, ceterosq; meos  
propinquos aliū alia cla-  
de oppressit.

what tyme I doubted nothyng lesse than any violence oꝝ ba-  
taye in the kyngdome whiche I holde of you / he hath chased  
me (as ye may se) out of your kyngdome / and hath made me  
as an abiect outlawe: chased from my countrey: and dwel-  
ling in place / oppressed with pouerty / & laded with miseries. In so  
moche that I may be in more suerty & saue garde in any place  
of the worlde / than in my owne natyve countrey & kyngdome /  
whiche I holde of you. For sothe worthy senatours: I haue  
euer thought in lyke maner as I haue oftentimes herde my  
father Micipsa openly report with sadnesse: sayeng that they  
which shuld diligēty cōtinue in your frendshyp by theyr me-  
rits / must take great labors at many tymes vpon themselves in  
your causes: but of all men they were most sure from iniury of  
any man: And sothely all my lynage hath done asmoche as in  
them was at your desyres: And euer hath ben redy in all ba-  
tays & nedes to assyst you. Wherfore if ye folowe the pꝛecept  
of gratitude: if ye bere in remēbraunce these merites of myne  
auncetry / it is bothe right & honesty that in this myne extreme  
necessite / ye shoulde socour me & restore me agayn to quyetnes:  
whyle ye haue none other busynesses in hand / whiche may be  
to you impedimēt in this enterpryse. Most discret fathers: more  
brefely & clerly to declare vnto you my cōplaint & my mysery:  
And also to certify your excellence more playnly of myne vn-  
naturall & vnkynnd kynsman Iugurth: and of his crueltie. He  
is nat vnknewen vnto yoꝝ mageste: that my father Micipsa  
after his departyng: left behynde hym vs two bꝛethern his na-  
turall & laifull sonnes: supposyng that by his benefytes & me-  
rites Iugurth shulde be ioynded with vs / as thyꝝde bꝛother.  
But alas: moche cōtrary thone of vs is murdred by this cru-  
ell Iugurth / blynded by insatiable ambitio⁹ & desyre of do-  
minion. And I my selfe the seconde bꝛother skarly and with  
great difficulte haue escaped his cruell & vnmerecyfull hādes:  
what may I do: oꝝ whether shall I rather fle for confort vn-  
happy exulate thus desolate & infortunate as I am. All the so-  
cours all þ cōfort / of my stocke & kynred is extinct by deth my  
grandfather Massigna / & my father Micipsa: as necessite  
hath cōstrayned them: haue payed þ generall tribute of natu-  
re: deliuered from these mūdayne veraciōs by naturall deth.  
My nere kynsman Iugurth: moche otherwyle than it be came  
hym to do: hath cursedly bereft my bꝛother of his lyfe by ty-  
ranny & myscheuous couetise of dominion: myne other kyn-  
men by cōsanguynite & affinite: withall myne other frendes  
by his crueltie ben also oppressed oꝝ put to deth / some by one  
meanes & some by other: some of hym be taken captiue: some  
put to shamefull deth of gybet / galous / oꝝ crosse / w most cruell

tourment: some be casten to wylde & rapinous beestes to be  
 deuoured of them. A fewe whiche are left with theyr lyues/are  
 clefed in dongyons & darknes: passyng theyr miserable lyues  
 with moutnyng & waylyng moze greuous than deth. Thus  
 I am I maynored with anguyshe on euery syde. But if it wer  
 so: that all these socours whiche I haue lost by cruelte of Ju-  
 gurth: or if all thyngs which be turned to me: from prosperite  
 to aduersite/ remayned to this hour hole without detrimēt or  
 dāmage lyke as they were in my best estate: yet certapnly no-  
 ble senatours: if any yll or mysfortune bnprouided shulde  
 happen vnto me: I durst be bolde to call your ayde and con-  
 fort. Bycause it semeth you to haue cure of right & wrong be-  
 longyng to euery man: cōsporyng the excellent magnitūde &  
 gretnes of your empire/ and to suffre no bertue vnterwarded  
 nor vice bnpunysshed/ and finally no wretch oppressed to con-  
 tynue vndefended. But now moost of all sythe I am exulate  
 from my natyf cōūtre/ from the kyngdome which my father  
 ruled vnder you: and from my owne house & dwellyng place/  
 also neddy and poore of all thyngs belongyng to myne estate/  
 and alone without company or defence: to whome or to what  
 place may I resorte: or in whome may I call for ayde or con-  
 forte in these my manyfolde miseries. Shall I resorte or call  
 for socours of nations/ or of kynges adiacent and about the  
 lande of Numbydy: alas I shulde lytell preuayle or nought  
 at all. Syth all they for your ampte toynded with you: be moze  
 tall enemyse to vs & to our lynage: may I resort to any con-  
 trey about vs: but that I shulde fynde there many tokens of  
 cruelte of warre: which my fathers haue done in theyr tymes  
 passed in your causes. Whyther shall any of them which haue  
 ben our old enemyes/ haue mercy or cōpassyon on vs now in  
 this our extremitie. But finally most noble senatours/ my fa-  
 ther Micipsa thus ordeed vs at his departyng: and gaue vs  
 in commaundemēt that we shulde obserue nor mentayne the  
 frendshyppe of none other kyng nor people/ saue onely of the  
 people of Rome: and that we shuld seke no newe felowshyp/  
 nor newe confederacions or bondes of cōcordē sayeng that in  
 your frendshyp & helpe: we shuld fynde great socours & ayde  
 and that largely. But if it shuld fortune that y welth of this  
 your empire shuld fall into ruyne or chāge from this excellēce  
 (whiche the goddes defende) than sayde he that we and our  
 kyngdome of necessity shulde also decay togyder with you.  
 But now lauded be the goddes by whose helpe & fauour/ and  
 by your owne strength & bertue: pe be at this tyme myghty &  
 rich: all thyng to you is prosperous and to your cōmaunde-  
 ment obeyng. Wherefore it is somech moze lauffull/ easy and

Iugurth.

C.ii.

Pars capiti Iugurtha,  
 pars in crucem acti, et  
 pars bestiis obiecti sunt.

Pauci (quibus relicta est  
 anima) clausi in tenebris:  
 cum merore et luctu mor-  
 te grauiorem vitam exis-  
 gunt. Sed si oia mihi qua  
 aut amisi, aut quae ex ne-  
 cessarijs aduersa facta sūt  
 incolumia manerent: ta-  
 men si quid ex improviso  
 mali accidisset vos implo-  
 rarem patres conscripti  
 quibus pro magnitudine  
 imperij ius et iniurias oēs  
 cure esse decet. Nunc ve-  
 ro exul patria, domo, so-  
 lus atq; oim honestarum  
 rerū egens quo accedam  
 aut quos appellem? Na-  
 ciones ne an reges? qui  
 oēs familiae nostrae obve-  
 stram amicitiam infecti  
 sunt. An quoq; mihi adite  
 licet ubi non meorū ma-  
 iorum monumenta hosti-  
 lia plurima sint.

An quisq; nostri misereri  
 potest qui aliquando nos  
 bis hostis fuit?  
 Postremo Micipsa ita nos  
 instituit patres conscripti  
 ne quem coleremus nisi  
 populum romanū: ne so-  
 cietatem, neq; federa no-  
 ua acciperemus: abunde  
 magna praesidia nobis in  
 vestra amicitia fore. Sed  
 si huic imperio fortuna  
 mutaretur: vna occiden-  
 dum nobis fore.  
 Virtute ac dijs volētibus  
 magni et opulenti estis.  
 Oia secūda et obedientia  
 sūt: quo facili⁹ sociorum  
 iniurias curare licet.



Tantum illud vereor ne quos priuata amicitia Iugurthae parum cognita transfuersos agat: quos ego audio summa ope niti/ambire fatigare vos singulos: ne quid de absente (in cognita causa) statuaris.

Fingete me verba: et fugam simulate: cui licuerit in regno manere.

Q. utinam illum (cuius impio facinore in has miseras proiectus sum) eadem haec simulantem vides: et aliquando aut apud vos aut deos immortales: rerum humanarum cura oritur: ut ille qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque praeclearus est omnibus inalis ipse excruciatum impietatis in parentem nostrum: fratrem mei necis: mearumque miserationum graues penas reddat.

Iam iam frater alio meo charissime quam tibi immaturus: et vnde minime decuit: vita erepta est tamen letandum magis quam dolendum casum tuum puto.

Non enim tantum regnum: sed fugam/exilium/egestatem/et has omnes erumnas (que me premunt) cum anima simul amisisti. At ego infelix in tanta mala praecipitatus ex patrio regno rerum humanarum spectaculum prebeo.

conuenient to you to take cure & charge in redressyng thyn/urles done to yo<sup>r</sup> frendes & felowes. I am onely in dyedebout of this one thyng lest the frendshipp & singulier fauour of Iugurth: nat perfectly known as he is mo<sup>r</sup>thy: do induce the myndes of some to parcialite agaynst Justice and ryght. I here & vnderstande that such labour withall they myght for fauour of Iugurth goynge about from man to man/prayng and intreatyng with moche sollicitude many of you a part by one & one/desirynge & requirynge you to determine no thyng agaynst Iugurth whyle he is absent: & the mater and cause nat known perfectly: I here suche psons corrupt w<sup>th</sup> parcialite and fauour objectyng secretly agaynst me/and sayeng that I sayne and pniagyn these wordes to accuse Iugurth vnderfuyngly/and p<sup>r</sup> I sayne to be chased forth of my lande by hym: wher as I myght surely ynough haue remayned within the kyngdome of Numidy. That wold god I myght se ones the cursed & vnkynde kyneman of myne Iugurth/ by whose vnmertysfull & cruell debes I am casten in these miseries/in such case: that he were saynyng the same thynges vnder lyke manner as I sayne them at this tyme: and wold god I myght ones se hym as truly wout saynyng dyspurn out of p<sup>r</sup>land of Numidy/as I am now chased from the same by his cruelte: and wold god p<sup>r</sup> at last other ye or els the immortall goddes wold so care for p<sup>r</sup> busynesses & troubles of vs miferable men in erth: that p<sup>r</sup> same Iugurth which now bereth hys selfe proud of his spynfull debes (shewyng hymselfe & countyng hym noble onely because he escapeth unpunished for his sphe & cruelte: myght therfore suffre greuous punishment w<sup>th</sup> all my miseries & other myscheues & p<sup>r</sup>is/acco<sup>r</sup>dyng to his deservynge: for his vnmertysfull cruelte shewed agaynst our father Antiocha/in murtheryng of my dere brother Dimepfall/& chasyng me forth of my natyfe countre: thus oppressed w<sup>th</sup> all miseries in extreme necessity. O my brother my brother Dimepfall/most dere to my hart of all cratures: howbeit now thy lyfe is bereft the in thy flouryng youth/longe before thy naturall houre of deeth: and p<sup>r</sup> by cruelte of hym/whome it seemed nat of all men so to haue done: neuertheles me thynketh in my mynd this chaunce of thy deeth moze to be soynded of: than to be sorowd. For thou hast nat onely lost thy lyfe & thy kyngdome: but also thou hast escaped this chasyng/this flyght/this exyle/this nede/this pouerty withall other wretchednesses & miseries/whiche oppresseth me wout cofort or socours. But I vnhappy & miferable exulate thus throwen downe from my fathers kyngdome into so many p<sup>r</sup>is & so great miferies/may welbe an example and spectacle to al p<sup>r</sup> world of the mutable courses wher in foze

tune turneth mankynd. O my dere brother vncertayne am I what I do: whither I thus destitute of socour and ayde: may persecute and reueng thy iniuries & thy deth/or els whether I may prouide and seke socours for recoueryng of the lande of Numidy. I am in that case: that my lyfe & deth dependeth in the socour of other men. Wold god I were deed out of hande: if deth myght be an honest conclusion of these my miserable misfortunes: rather than to be counted as content & pleased to lyue in rebuke and shame/as an exulate werped & ouercom with iniuries: and gyueng place to the iust cruelte of tyrannous persecucion/and as nat able no: bolde to resist the same. But nowe certaynly it is agaynst my wyll that I lyue/for: in my lyfe I haue no lykynge no: pleasure / and yet can I nat dye without dishonour. Wherfore moost prudent fathers & noble senatours: these premisses consydered: I obtest & humbly requyre you: in honour of the goddes immortall: for thaunciet ampte bytweene you and my forefathers: for the naturall loue whiche ye haue agaynst your chyldren & parentes and by the mageste of the people of Rome: & this your most excellent empire: haue pyte of my manyfolde calamities & socour this my misery. Resist this tyrannous dealing & iniury of Jugurth commytted nat onely agaynst my wretched persone: but also agaynst you and your empire. Suffre nat the kyngdome of Numidy: which is your owne: to decay and be destroyed by cruell tyranny of Jugurth/and by the effusion of blode and murdre of the linage of Massinissa/ somtyme most faythfull and constant frende of this your empire.

Howe the embassadours of Jugurth replied agaynst these wordes of Adherball: & what dyreccon was taken for borhe parties of the senatours of Rome.

The. xi. chapter.



After that Adherball / in forme aboue wryten had ended his complaynt: anone the embassadours of Jugurth arose & answered byefely in fewe wordes: as they whiche had more trust & confidence in theyr great gyftes gyuen befoze to many of the rulers of Rome: than in any right of theyr cause and thus they replied in effecte: sayeng befoze the senatours that Hiempsall was slayne of the Numidyans for his owne hastines & cruelte/and nat by knowlege of Jugurth: and as touchyng Adherball: he began wary agaynst Jugurth of his owne fromard mynd without any occasion: but after he was Jugurth.

C.iii.

Incertus sum quid agamus tuas ne iniurias psequar ipse auxilij egens: an regno consulam: cuius vitę necisq; potestas ex opib; alienis pendet. Vtinam emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset: ne viuere contentus viderer si defessus malis iniuriarū concessissem.

Nūc neq; viuere libet mihi neq; mori licet sine dedecore.

Patres conscripti obtestor vos p liberos atq; parentes vestros: p magestatem populi romani: subuenite mihi misero.

Ite obuiam iniurię nolite pati regnum Numidię (quod vestrū est) per scelus et sanguinem familie nostre tabescere.

Postq rex loquendi finem fecit: legati Jugurthę largitione freti magis q̄ causa paucis respondent, Hiempsalem ob seuitiam suam a Numidis interfectum.

Adherbalem vltro bellū inferentem (postq superatus sit) queri q̄ iniuriā facere nequiuisset.



## The batayle

Iugurtham ab senatu pe-  
tere ne se alium putarent  
ac Numancia cognitus  
esset: neu verba inimici  
ante facta sua ponerent.

Deinde vtrique a curia di-  
grediuntur. Senatus  
statim consulitur: fauto-  
res legatorum: preterea se-  
nat<sup>9</sup> magna pars gra de-  
pranata Adherbalis di-  
cta contemere: Iugurtha  
virtute extollere laudi-  
bus. gra. voce. Denique o-  
bmodis pro alieno sceler-  
re et flagitio: sua quasi  
pro gloria ntelatur. Ac co-  
tra: pauci quibus bonu et  
aquin diuitijs cari<sup>9</sup> erat  
subueniendu Adherbali,  
et Hiempsalis morte se-  
uere vindicanda censebat.  
Sed ex oibus maxie Ae-  
milius Scaurus homo no-  
bilis, impiger, factiosus,  
audax potetia: honoris,  
diuitiarum. Ceterum vi-  
tia callide sua occultas.  
Is postq videt regis largi-  
tionem famolam impude-  
renq: veritus (quod in ta-  
li re fieri solet) ne pollu-  
ta licentia inuidiam ac-  
cenderet aim a consueta  
libidine continuit: vicit  
tamen in senatu pars il-  
la que vero precium aut  
gratiam anteferebat.

Decretum fit: uti decē le-  
gati regnum quod Micipsa  
obtinuerat inter Ius-  
gurtham et Adherbalem  
diuiderent: cuius legatio-  
nis princeps fuit Lucius  
Opimius: homo clarus: et  
tū in senatu potens: qui  
cōsulis Caii Gracchi  
et Marci Fuluii flacco

ouercome in batayle/bycause he was nat able to reueng hym  
selfe/noz to make his partie good/he fled vnto Rome to com-  
playne hym to the senato's of Iugurth: where as all y faute  
was in hymselfe and in none other / concernyng the partie of  
Iugurth: they requyzed the senatours in his behalfe in his  
absence to count by in none other/than he was pued a knowen  
in the warre of Numance: and that they wold nat set more by  
the wordes of his enemy/than by his dedes magnificently  
proued. This sayd: anonc after: bothe parties deptyed in son-  
der from the court. Immediately the senatours toke counsell  
what best was to be done in the cause. The fauourers of Ius-  
gurth a of his embassadours/and more ouer a great part of  
the senatours were corrupt befoze by parcialite / fauour/and  
reward of Iugurth/and so deprauat: that they contemned a  
set at nought y wordes of Adherball / crastyng a comendyng  
the manhode of Iugurth: with laude/fauour/cōtenaunce/  
voyce/and all other signes: And so finally they laboured by  
all maner of means to: an others myscheuous vice a cruell  
crime to defende the same: as if it had ben in defence of theyz  
owne honour/worshyp/a honeste. But on the other part were  
a fewe other / whiche set more by iustice and honeste/than by  
falle gotten riches: these counsellled to socour Adherball and  
sharply to punyssh he a reuēge the deth of Hiempsal. But among  
all other of this opinion: was one named Emilius Scaurus  
a man of noble byrth redy to disturbe euery busynes/debatful  
a hely: desirous of power/of authorite/of honour a of riches:  
but crasty in clokyng of these his fautes. After this Emilius  
Scaur<sup>9</sup> sawe his gyueng of bytbes of Iugurth so shamfully  
a openly knowen: he sered lest y corruption of the senatours a  
heed rulers of Rome myght ingēder enuy/debate a slaughter  
bytwene them a the cōmune/lyke as in suche cases often had  
fortuned i tymes befoze. Wherefoze in this cōsideracion/he re-  
frayned his mynde at this tyme from his accustomed vnlaus-  
full iustes. Neuertheles among y senato's in this counsell the  
worst part preyayld: and y part which set more by fauour a  
rewards than by right a equite/ouercam y other part/which  
laboured to sustayne y right wout any fauour o: parcialite.  
And so the fauourers of Iugurth optayned theyz purpose / a  
his ctuelle had no punysshment. Neuertheles it was cōcluded  
a decreed that. r. embassado's shuld be sent into Numidy to  
diuide y kyngdome which longed to Micipsa bytwene Ius-  
gurth a Adherbal. The principal of this embassade was one  
named Lucius Opimius a man of noble fame/of great au-  
thorite a power among the senatours in those dayes: what ty-  
me Caius Gracchus a Marcus Fuluius great fauourers of

the comens: were slayne of the noble men of Rome for y same cause: After victorie of the noble men agaynst the comens & the same two princes: this Lucius Opimius enraged greivously w rigorous & sharpe inquisitiones & examinacions agaynst the poore comente: And was one of the chiefe oppressers of them. What tyme this Lucius Opimi<sup>us</sup> w his copany was come to Numidy: Jugurth prepared to attempt his old craftes: And howbeit he had founde the same Lucius for one of his enemies at Rome / neuertheles he receyued hym worshipfully & with great diligēce. And w gyueng & promysynge many thyngs he brought his purpose so to effect / that this Lucius at conclusion preferred the fauour & profet of Jugurth before his owne good name & fidelite: & bresely: before all thyngs belongyng to hymselfe. This brought to passe: anone he went in hand w the other of y embassado's after the same way: & many of the he wan & ouercame with gyftes. very fewe of them were which set more by theyr sayth & treuth than by money & rewardes of Jugurth. Wherefore whā it was come to limitation & separation of the lande of Numidy by twene Adherball & Jugurth as the sayd embassado's were commaunded of the senatours: that part of the kyngdome which marched toward Mauritany: or the lande of the Mauriens being most opulent and plentyfull of fruitfull fyldees and of men / was gyuen to Jugurth: but the other part / which was more pleasant than profitable as ornate without haupn townes and fayre edifyces: was comytted to possession of Adherball.

¶ Rome for asmoche as in this hystory before & most of all in sequele and presse of the same / hath & shalbe made mention of many places & townes of Affrike: to thintent that thystory may be more clere and euident / me thynketh it requisite and conuenient bresely to describe the sytuacion of Affrike: and a lytell to touche those peoples and countreys / whiche with the romayns had at any tyme amitye or frenshipp / other peace or warre. But suche places and nations whiche for heat and wyldernes be lytell frequented of people / or nat inhabited: of them it is nat easy to describe nor declare the truth: for by difficulte of the places / fewe or none refoerteth thyder perfectly to knowe the same. But the other partes frequented of people I shall as bresely declare as can be touched.

¶ The description of the habitable parties of the countrey of Affrike / namely of suche nations as had anyte or warre with the Romayns.

¶ The .xii. chapter.

interfectis acerrime nobilitatis victoriam in plebem exercuerat.

Eum Iugurtha tametsi Romae in inimicis habuerat: tamen accuratissime accepit. Dando et pollicendo multa / perfecit. vti fame, fidei, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferebat. Reliquos legatos eadem via aggressus est: plerosque capit. paucis charior fides quam pecunia erat.

In diuisione regni que per Numidie Mauritaniā attingit agris virisque opulētiore Iugurthae tradita. Illam alterā specie potius quam vtu: quae portuosior et edificijs magis exornata erat: Adherbalem possedit.

Res postulare videtur situm Africe paucis exponere: et eas gentes quibus cum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit attingere.

Sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem et asperitatem inter solitudines minus frequentata sunt: de his haud facile compertum narrauero. Caetera quam paucissimis absoluam.



## The batayle

**I**N diuisione orbis terrarum plerique in parte terrarum Africam posuerunt pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam esse: sed Africam in Europa.

Ea fines habet ab occidentali fretum nostri maris et oceanum.

Ab ortu solis declinem latitudinem: quem locum Cathabathmon incolae appellat. Mare seu importuofum: ager frugum fertilis: bonus pecoris: arborum infecundus: calidus terrarum: penuria aquarum.

Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum: plerisque senectus dissoluta: nisi qui ferro aut bestiis interire. Nam haud morbo saepe quem superat. Adhuc malefici generis plurima aetia.

Sed qui mortales in initio Africam habuerunt: qui postea accesserunt: aut quomodo inter se permixti sint: quam ab ea fama quae plerisque obtinet diuersum est: tamen ut ex libris puniceis quereamus: Hiemplalis dicebantur inter pretatum nobis est: utique rem sese habere cultores eius terre putant: qui patet mihi dicam. Caterum fides eius penes auctores erit.

Africam habuerunt in initio Gethi et Lybes, asperi, inculti: quibus cibum erat caro ferina: atque humi pabulum uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus, neque lege, aut imperio cuiusquam regebantur: vagi, palantes, quo neq. coegerat sedes habebant. Sed postquam in Hispania Hercules sicuti Africam



**D**Iuision of the circle of the worlde the opinion of most wryters is: that it is diuided into thre partes / Europe / Asye / & Affrike. A few other authours hold opinion: that it is deuided onely into two partes / that is to say Asye & Europe: so that vnder climate of y part whiche is called Europe: the thirde part named Affrike is comprehended. But this last opinion is leest allowed. This countrey of Affrike hath his bondes on the see of Italy on the West part and on the ocean see it aboꝛdeþ partly on the same syde: on the Est part therof is a declining & pendant valey ryght ample & large. The inhabitants of this valey call it Cathabathmon in theyr Affrike langage: that is to say in englysh / a dependant valey. On this Est syde: the see is outragious / cruell / perillous & wout any sure haue: but the fylde & soyle on this part ar plentyfull of corne / and for all maner bestes is good pasture / but the soyle is nat apt to trees be ryng frute: of water is scarce / bothe of rayne water / & of water springyng of the erth. The disposicion of the people is holsome of body / swyft / & may well endure labour. In somoch that the most part dye for extreme age / saue suche as be slayne w wepyn / or deuoured of wyld beasts. For it is nat often sene y corruption of humours ingendryng any infirmite byngeth to deith. In this countrey be also many rauynous bestes & of diuers kyndes / deuourynge all thyng which they may ouercome. But this omittynge I will nowe brefely declare what maner people first of all inhabited this countrey of Affrike / and what people thyrther resorted to inhabite vnt after them. And howe the same peoples were myngled togyder. Nowebeit that whiche I shall write is moche diuers from the common fame and opinion of many men: neuer thelesse / I shall folowe the booke wryten in Affrike langage / which (as it is sayd) belonged to the yong pryncce Htempsall: whome Jugurth murdered: of the same booke I shall folowe the true interpretation in this mater / and lyke as the inhabitants of the same countrey asserme to be true. But touchynge the very credence of the treuth of the mater I report that to the authours.

**T**he first people whiche inhabited the countrey of Affrike were named Gethulians & Lybeas / a people hard / sharpe & vnmannered. These lyued of fleshe of wyld beasts / & fedde vpon y ground as beasts vnreasonable. And were nat ruled by any maners / but lyued wout lord / or lawes / as vagabundes & rousers. They had no certayn bydyng place / but wher as y nyght toke the: they they rested for y tyme. But after y Hercules dyed in Hispanye / as the Affricas say: his army which was assēbled

of dyuers nations/ whan their captayne and heed was lost :  
dispersed themselfe abroad anone after his deth/ and came to  
dyuers places of the worlde to seke theyr fortune/ where they  
myght optayne any habitation o: lordshyppe. Of whiche  
company/ the Medians/ Persians/ and Armenians arrived  
with theyr shippes in that coast of Affrike/ which was nere  
to the empire of Rome/ and longe tyme after occupied those  
coastes. But the Persians inhabited themselfe moze in warde  
in the countrey towarde the ocean see: and in stede of houses  
they touned theyr shippes botomes bywarde and dwelled  
vnder the same. And no maruayle/ for in the countrey about  
them grewe no tymber no: other stufte mete for buyldynge/  
no: of the Spaniards which inhabited nere to them/ neyther  
myght they bye no: borrowe. For the see was so great & tempe  
stous bytwene them/ and theyr langages so dyuers & vnknowen  
to eether people/ that by these two impedimētes they were  
lettred from the co's of marchandise o: exchāges bytwene the.  
These Persians by meane of marriages by lytell & lytell man  
gled the Getulians w them/ and bycause they proued ostent  
ious the comodite of theyr grounde & felde by often cōmuta  
cions & chaungynge one with other/ at last they named them  
selfe Numidyans/ that is to say herdmen deuided. And to this  
present daye the cotages o: tyllmens houses be made longe &  
crooked sydes o: couertures bowynge inwarde as if they were  
helses of shippes trāsfuered o: turned by set downe. Com  
chyng y Medians & Armenians they loyned themselfe w the  
Lybians. For these Medians & Armenians dwelled besyde mo  
re nere to the see of Affrike. The Getulians inhabited moze  
nere to y sonie rising: nat farre fro the seuerent countrey of Inde  
and this people anow had townes & dwelling places/ for the  
see bytwene them & Hispayne was but narowe/ wherfor they  
agreed with the Hispaniards to make exchanges & bartyn  
ges of marchandise with them. The Lybians corrupted theyr  
name by lytell and lytell chaungynge the same/ & at last in stede  
of Medians named themselfe Maurics by barbarike pronun  
ciation of theyr langage. But the welth & riches of the Per  
sians in short tyme increased and multiplied. In somoch that  
after they had named themselfe Numidyans/ they increased  
in so great multitude: that theyr fyrst countrey was nat able to  
nouryssh them all: So that afterwarde many of the yong and  
lusty people departed in sonder from theyr frendes & last the  
countrey/ resortynge to a countrey nere the cite of Carthage/  
vacant at that tyme: In whiche countrey they inhabited them  
selfe and named it Numidy after theyr name. Shortly after  
this: bothe they whiche remayned styll in theyr first countrey

putā interijt: exercitus  
cius cōpositus ex varijs  
gentibus: amisso duce: ac  
passim multis sibi impium  
petētibus: breui dilabif.  
Ex eo numero Medi, Per  
se, et Armeni nauibus in  
Aphricā trāsfuerūt: proxis  
mos nō mari locos occupa  
uere. Sed Perse intra  
magis oceanū. Hiq; ala  
ueos nauū inuersos pro  
tugurijs habuere. Quia  
neq; materia i agris, neq;  
ab Hispanis emendi: aut  
mutuādi copia erat: mare  
magnum et ignara lingua  
cōmercia prohibebant.  
Hi paulatim per cōnubia  
Getulos secum miscuere.  
Et quia saepe tentantes  
agros: alia, deinde alia  
loca petuerāt: semetipsi  
Numidas appellauere.  
Cāterum adhuc edificia  
Numidarumq; agrestium  
mappalia illi vocant/ ob  
longa. curuis lateribus  
tectā, quasi nauium cari  
nae sim. Medi autē et Ar  
meni accessere Lybes.  
Nam hi mare propius  
Aphricū agitabant. Ge  
tuli sub sole magis/ haud  
procul ab ardoribus: hiq;  
mature oppida habuere:  
nam freto diuisi ab Hispa  
nia/ mutare res inter se  
constituerant. Nomen  
eorum paulatim Lybes  
corrupere: barbara lin  
gua Mautos pro Medis  
appellantes.  
Sed res Persarum breui  
adoleuit: ac postea nomi  
ne Numide propter mul  
titudinem domi minuen  
dam/ a parētibus digressi:  
possidere ea loca/ quę pro  
xime Carthaginem Na  
midia appellatur.



## The batayle

Deinde vtrique alteris freti finitimos armis, aut metu sub imperium suū coegere: nomen, gloriāq; sibi addidere: mag; hi, qui ad nostrum mare procellerant: quia Lybes q̄ Getuli minus erant bellicosi. Deinde Aphricæ pars inferior pleraq; a Numidis possessa est: victi omnes ingentem nomenq; imperantium concessere.

Postea Phenices alij multitudinis domi minuende gratia: pars cupidine imperij, sollicitata plebe, et alij nouarum rerū auidi: Hiponem, Adrumenum, Leptim, aliasq; vrbes in ora maritima considerere.

Hæc breui multum aucte: pars originibus suis presidio, alie decori fuerunt. Nam de Carthagine filere melius puto, q̄ parū dicere: quoniam alio prosperare tempus admonet.

Hæc tum ex Marone, tum ex Seruio, reliquisq; probis auctoribus sunt excerpta.

and these which remoued them/assisted one another withall maner of helpe & socours. In somoche that what by strength and what by fear they brought vnder they: subiection and dominion (suche other nacions as marched nere them: so that within shorte tyme they moche inhaunced & augmented their name and glozy / but most namely they which inhabited that part of Affrike / whiche is ouer agaynst Italy and nere the Italpan see/these most increased in welth and honour. For the Lybiens were nat so good men of warre as the Getulians or Numidyans. And so all the inward part of Affrike was for the most part in possession of the Numidyans / and so moche byd they: that all the nacions of them subdued were called Numidyans after the name of ouercomers. Nowe haue we declared howe the Getulians and Lybiās were first inhabitaūtes of Affrike: and howe the Perseans/Medeans/and Armenyens came afterwarde and ioyned with them. Nowe the Perseans named themselſe Numidyans. And the Medceans and Armenyens by corruption of langage were called Mauriens.

¶ And nowe cōsequently I shall declare what other people came afterwarde and inhabited the same lande of Affrike. After all these nacions befoze reherſed: out of þ lande of Phenycy came moche people to inhabite themselſe in Affrike. Some bycause their owne countrey was nat sufficient to sustayne so great a multitude as were of them. And other some great men of byrth & desyrus of lordshyp rapted by & assembled the neddy cōmen people & left their owne cōitrey: in hope to fynde some other greater dominion els where/and in pcesse of tyme arriued at þ lande of Affrike: and there buylded thre citties vpon the see coast named Hippona / Adrumentum and Leptis: with other dyuers citties: but nat so great & famous as these were. These citties in short tyme were so augmented & increased that some of them were honour/and some socoure & ayde to their originall cōitreis. But of the cite of Carthage which also by them was buylded/and afterwarde became the heed cite of Affrike: me thynke it is better to passe ouer w<sup>th</sup> silence: than of it to speke a lytell & than to leue the mater in the myddes vnparfet / & also this my busynes pcedeth to an other purpose. Further theſſe somewhat shall I touche the first foundation of this cite of Carthage/nat folowynge myne authour Salust: which wyrteth nothynge therof: but folowynge the opinion of Vergil as he wyrteth in the first boke of Eneas.

¶ The quene Dydo daughter of Belus kyng of the lande of Cypre and wyfe to Syphcus kyng of Phenycy: fledde with her chyppes laded with golde & other ryches out of her owne

countrey: dreyng & cruelte of her brother Pygmalion: which  
 blynded by couetpse and ambicyon had slayne her husbande  
 Sicheus by treason. This Dido at last arpued wit her ship,  
 pes & company at the coast of Affricke/where rayned a kyng  
 named Hierbas: which moued with beaute of Dido despyed  
 her to wyfe. But for loue whiche she had to her first husbande  
 Sicheus she wold nat consent therto by any meanes: but despy  
 red to bye of the same kyng Hierbas as moche ground as  
 myght be copassed about with hyde of a bull. And after that it  
 was graunted/she cut the hyde of a bull so small/ that with the  
 same she copassed thre myle of groude in compasse. In which  
 space & circuite she bylded a cite: which first was named Byr  
 sa. After in proces of tyme it was called Tyros: and last of all  
 Carthage/ vnder whiche name by long continuance so am  
 ply it encreased in fame and welth: that it contayned. xxiii.  
 myles in copasse. But whan it was in most excellence it was  
 bitterly destroyed by the romains Publius Scipio Affricane  
 that tyme beyng captayne of the romayne army. Touchynge  
 the foundation of this famous cite of Carthage/ someche  
 haue I written more than myne authour Salust. But now  
 wyll I retorne to myne institute & purpose concernynge the dy  
 scripcion of Affricke/ & brefely byng it to conclusion. The va  
 ley of whom I spake before named in Affricke lagage Catha  
 bathmon/ deuided the countrey of Affricke from Egypt on that  
 syde saue that an arme of the see is bytwene the first cite or ha  
 bitacion of Affricke towarde this valey/ & is called Cyrene.  
 And nere to the same be other two cites/ the one named Colo  
 nia/ & other Thercon: beyond these thre cities be two quick  
 sades/ & bytwene bothe & sades a cite named Leptis. Beyond  
 this cite of Leptis/ is a place named of the romains Phyleno  
 rum are in englyshe: the auters of two byetherne called Phis  
 lenis/ bycause these two byetherne suffred the selfe to be quicke  
 buryed in the same place for the comen wele of theyr countrey:  
 wherof this story hereafter shalbe written at more oportunitie.  
 This place diuiderth the dominton of Carthage from Egypt  
 on that syde. After this place on the syde costes be other cities  
 belongynge to the dominyon of Punike. All the places from  
 thens forthe to Mauritany or lande of the Mauriens/ be  
 vnder subieccion of the Numydians. The Mauriens haue  
 theyr habytacyon nere to Hispayne. But as we rede: the Ge  
 tulyans haue theyr habitacion beyond the Numidyas: some  
 in poore lodgys: and some other more bylely without habi  
 tacion wandrynge as vagabundes. Beyond these Getulyans  
 is the lande of Ethiopie: and from thens forthe be countreis so  
 bzent with feruour of the sonne that they be inhabitable.

*Igitur ad Catabathmon  
 ( qui locus Egyptum ab  
 Affrica diuidit secundum  
 mare ) prima habitatio  
 Cirene ē, Tolonia, Ther  
 con, ac deinde due sunt  
 Syrtes, inter quas Leptis,  
 Deinde Philenorum are,  
 quem locū Egyptum ver  
 sus finem imperij habue  
 re Carthaginenses.*

*Post alie Punice vrbes,  
 cetera loca vsq; ad Mau  
 ritaniam Numidæ tenēt.  
 proxime Hispaniā Mau  
 ri sunt.*

*Supra Numidiam Getu  
 los accepimus, partim in  
 tugurijs, alios incultius  
 Vagos agitare. Post eos  
 Ethiopes esse. deinde loca  
 exusta solis ardoribus.*



## The batayle

Igitur bello Iugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida: et fines Carthaginensium: quos nouissime habuerant: populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat. Getulorum magna pars et Numidia usque ad flumen Mulucham sub Iugurtha erat. Mauris omnibus impitabat rex Bocchus prater nomen per cetera ignarus populo romano. itemque neque pace, neque bello ante cognitus erat. De Africa et de eiusdem incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum est.

But during this warre betwene the romayns and Iugurth: the romayns had in theyr possession many townes of Punike and moche of the costes of the empyre of Carthage: and ruled the same by officers vnder them therto assigned. A great part of Numydy and of the Getulians vnto a flodde named Mulucham: was vnder the dominion of Iugurth.ouer all the Mauritians raygned one kyng named Bocchus: of whome the romayns had no knowlege saue of his name oncly. And befoze this batayle: he was nother in peace nor in warre acquainted/nor known of the romayns. Of Affrike & of thins habitantes of the same: ynough is spoken and as moche as is requysite of necessite to the proesse of this hystory. Nowe wyll I make regression and prosecute my first purposed matter insuyng myne authour Salust.

**C**how Iugurth inuaded the kyngdome of Adherball yet ones agayn: and how Adherball agayne was ouercome in batayle: & put to flyght. The. xiii. chapter.

**P**ostquam autem diuiso re-  
gno legati ab Aphri-  
ca discesserunt Iugur-  
tha contra animi timorem  
premia sceleris adeptum  
se se videt: certum esse ra-  
tus quod ex amicis apud  
Numantiam acceperat,  
omnia Romę venalia esse: si-  
mul et illorum pollicita-  
tionibus accensus: quos  
paulo ante muneribus ex-  
pleuerat: in regnum Ad-  
herbalis animū intēdit.

*Ipsē acer, bellicosus. At  
is quem petebat: quietus  
imbellis: placido ingenio,  
opportunitis iniurie, me-  
tues magis quā metuendus.*  
Igitur



**A**fter the embassadours of Rome:  
of whome I haue spoken befoze: had diui-  
ded the realme of Numidy betwene Ad-  
herball & Iugurth/and were departed out  
of Affrike towarde Rome: anone Iugurth  
reuolued in mynde howe he had escaped  
vnpunished for his crueltie otherwyle than  
his mynde feared befoze: And how in stede of punysshement:  
for his synne: he was rewarded with y better part of the lande  
of Numidy. Nowe he consydred that all was true whiche  
his frendes had tolde hym befoze whyle he was in Dispayne  
with the romayne army in the warre of Numance: that is to  
say. That nothyng was so false & iniust: but that myght be  
iustified at Rome for money: for all thyng myght be bought  
there for money. This consideracion inhaunced his mynde  
vnto esperance & that nat a lytell. Forthermore he was infla-  
med with the large promesses of them: whome he had acloyed  
befoze with gyftes & rewardes at Rome: In somoche that  
agayne of newe he fired his mynde to inuade & blurpe the  
kyngdome of Adherball/and by some poynt of prodicion to  
take hym in trap as he had done Hētemplall his brother.  
This Iugurth was fiers/charpe/& apte to wary well inured  
with the same & expert i feates therof: but contrarely Adherbal:  
whome he assayled & pursued: was a mete man & oportune to  
take intury!

take iniury/moze ferefull and dreyng other/ than to be drad  
of other. Wherfoze sodenly/and without any prouision on  
part of Adherball: Jugurth inuaded the marches of his  
kyngdome/with a great power & multitude of men of armes/  
many of thynhabitanes he murthered/and many toke he pris  
soners with beestes & all other maner of prayes/robbyng and  
spoyling euery where: as ferre as his army dyspled/townes/  
castels and other edifyces he bzent & beat downe: and many  
other places he assailed and inuaded moze inwardly in the  
countrey by ercourtes of his hoxlemen. This done he returned  
into his countrey with all his multitude/prayes & prisoners:  
supposynge that Adherball moued with angre & displeasure  
wold reuenge these iniuries/and that thyng shulde be cause &  
occasion of open warre bytwene them. But Adherball aduis  
ed hymselfe well: by remembraunce of his first batayle had  
with Jugurth that he was nat able to contende with hym in  
batayle noz with force of armes: and moze ouer he had moze  
cōfidence & trust in frendshyp of the Romayns/than in the in  
constāt Numidyans/ which leaned moze to his ennemy than  
to hym. These thynges consydered: he send embassadours to  
Jugurth to complayne of these iniuries: But these embassa  
dours had nought els of hym but contumelious/proude and  
hasty wordes. And so dyspled of Jugurth returned agayn to  
they: lord Adherball: though suche answers myght haue mo  
ued any coragious hert: neuerthelesse Adherball determned  
in mynde: to suffre all thynges and to take many iniuries pa  
ciently: rather than agayn to begyn batayle with Jugurth.  
For (as sayd is) the batayle foughten befoze bytwene them  
was bothe to dishonour & also great dammage. But for all  
this suffrance of Adherball: the mynde of Jugurth was nat  
moze pacified/noz lessed of his cruelte. The patience of Ad  
herball abated nat the Ire of Jugurth: but it augmēted: For  
all redy he had cōcluded in mynde to inuade þ hole kyngdōe  
of Numidy. Therfoze he began agayn of newe: nat as befoze  
with a cōpany of reuers: but with a myghty and great army  
assembled togyder demeanynge open warre/and chalangynge  
openly the hole empire of Numidy/and with such power pro  
ceeded into the land of Adherball: wastynge the townes & spoyl  
on euery syde: dyspuing away prayes of catell & ether riches:  
and increasynge corage to his men/and drede to his ennemis.  
Whan Adherball sawe it was come to that point that he must  
nedes other abandon and gyue ouer his kyngdome/or els  
mayntayne it with force of armes/as he which was constay  
ned by extreme necessity: he assembled & empareyled an army  
as well as he myght/and with the same proceeded forth to mete  
Jugurth.

D. i.

Igitur Jugurtha ex im  
prouiso eius fines cū ma  
gna manu inuadit: mul  
tos mortales cum pecore  
atq; alia preda capit: edifi  
cia incendit: pleraq; loca  
hostiliter cum equita  
tu petit.

Deinde cū omnium mul  
titudine in regnū suum  
cōuertit: existimans Ad  
herbalem dolore pmoū  
iniurias suas vindicatus  
rum eamq; rem belli cau  
sam fore. At ille: q; neq;  
se parem armis existima  
bat: et amicitia populi ro  
mani magis q; Numidis  
fretus erat: legatos ad Ju  
gurtham de iniurijs ques  
tum misi: qui tametsi cō  
tumeliosa dicta retulerūt  
prius tamen omnia pati  
decreuit q; bellum sume  
re quia tentatum ante se  
cus cesserat.

Neq; eo magis cupido Ju  
gurthæ minuebatur.

Quippe qui totū regnum  
ei⁹ animo iam inuaserat:  
Itaq; non vti ante cū pre  
datoria manu: sed magno  
exercitu comparato bel  
lum gerere cepit: et toti⁹  
imparium Numidiæ pes  
tere: ceterum quā perges  
bat: vrbes, agros vastare:  
predas agere: suis animū:  
hostibus terrorem auge  
re. Adherbal vbi intelle  
xit eo processum: vti re  
gnum aut reliquendum  
esset: aut armis retinen



## The batayle

dum necessario copias parat et Iugurtha obuius procedit. Interim haud longe amari prope Cirtham oppidum vtriusque exercitus cōfedit et quia diei extremum erat: prelium non est inceptū: sed ubi plurimum noctis processit: obscuro etiam tunc lumine: milites Iugurthini signo dato castra hostium inuadunt: semisōnos parim alios fumētes arma fugāt funduntque. Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtham profugit: et nimia multitudo togatorum fuisset: quae Numidas insequentes membris prohibebat: vno die inter duos reges ceptum atque pertratatum bellum foret. Iugurtha oppidum circumfedit: vineas, turribusque et machinis omnium generum expugnare aggreditur: maxime festinans tempus legatorum accipere quos ante preliū factum ab Adherbale Romanam millos audierat.

**S**ed post quā senatus de bello eorum accepit: tres adolescentes in Africā legātur: qui ambos reges adeant senatus populi que romani vrbis nūciēt censere et velle: eos

**Iugurth.** At last the two hooftes of Adherball & of Iugurth appoched & rested nere togyder / belyde a towne named Cirtha / nat ferre distant from the see coast / and for asmoche as the day drew nere to nyght: the batayle was nat anone begon: but eyther party remayned in theyr tentes. Anone after moche of the nyght was ouerpassed / and the starre lyght somwhat dymmed w obfcurite of cloud. The loudiours of Iugurth rayfed by the sounde of trūpettes bnywarly & sodenly inuaded and assayled the tentes & felde of Adherball: some they murdered halfe slepyng: & some other they slewe whyle they were in hande to arme themselfe. On part of Adherball was pete / full murdre: and on syde of Iugurth no mercy / but abstinat persecucion & vengeaunce: and so fierfly fought Iugurth and his cōpany that shortly Adherball fled to the towne of Cirtha / acōpanyed with a fewe hoymen. But Iugurth pursued hym so nerely / that if the inhabitantes of the towne of Cirtha in hast & with great multitude had nat receyued Adherball / and with force of armes defended the walles / & kept forth the soundours of Iugurth whiche persued Adherball: the batayle bytwene them both shuld haue begon & ended that one same day / and that to destruction of Adherball. But Iugurth per / ceuyng the entre into the towne denyed to hym / anone beseged it on euery syde with all maner ingynes inualyue to his ennemies / and defensyue to his company: he caused hastily to be framed large pauayles and towres of tymbe to be dzyuen vpon whelis toward the walles of the towne. And with these and all maner other ingynes went in hande fierfly to assaile the towne: and somoch moze hastily he sped hym / to thintēt to byyng his purpose to effect / befoze any embassado's shuld cōe from Rome to respyt his enterprys. For asmoche as befoze this batayle he had herd that Adherball had sende embassadours to Rome to certify the Senato's of his miserable state.

**Howe the fauourers of Iugurth at Rome laboured** so in his cause / that thze yong men inerpert and wout policy were send embassado's into Affrike to cesse this stryfe bytwene the two kynges: and howe these embassadours retourned to Rome without any thyng done.

The xliii. chapter.

**W**it after the senatours at Rome herd crydnges of this batayle / they send into Affrike thze yonge gentylmen in embassade / cōmaundng them to go to bothe the kynges / & to cōmaund them in behalfe of the senatours and of the hole people of Rome to cesse theyr warre / and to shewe

them that the senate and Romayns wylled and biterly commaunded them so to do. And so doyng/they shuld do as it seemed them: and as of cōgruence they ought to do both for pleasure of the Romayns & for theyr owne honour & profet. The embassadours with suche cōmaundement halted them and came vnto Affrike/ the senatours had commaunded them to make somoche moze expedition in theyr iourney/ because theyr doyngs were brought to Rome/ whan these embassadours prepared themselfe forwarde: how the batayle was done bytwene Adherball & Jugurth/ and how Jugurth kept Adherball besieged straitly within the towne of Cirta. But this rumour was somewhat alayed & kept secrete by fauourers of Jugurth/ after these embassado's were come to Numidy: they expressed to Jugurth the effect of theyr embassade/ in forme as the senatours had cōmaunded them. Whan Jugurth vnderstode the pleasur of the senatours by theyr wordes & embassade: he answered benignely/ sayeng that he counted no earthly thyng moze great/ noz excellent/ noz moze dere vnto hym than the authority of the senatours & people of Rome/ and that from his yowth to that tyme he had euer so indeuored to order hymself that euery good & worthypfull man cōmended & allowed hym for his vertu & manhode/ and nat for malyce noz mysdemeanour. And for the same manynes & nat for malicious dedes/ noz for disordred maners his cōpany and conuersacion was accept and pleasour vnto the ryght hygh & worthy captayne Publius Scipio. Moreouer: for the same cōuersacion and good maners & nat for faute of chyldren naturall his vnckle Micipsa had adopted hym for his sonne: and made hym inheritor of his kyngdome/ parriner w his owne naturall sonnes: and for asmoch as he had demeaned hymselfe ryght well and worthely/ in executyng of many hygh & gloriouse interpreses: somoch the lesse coude he suffre iniury done vnto hym vntreuged. As touchyng Adherball Jugurth alleged for hymselfe that this Adherball by gyle & treason lay in wayt to slea hym: which thyng percepued: he made resystence agaynst the same to the best of his power/ as any man was bounde to do for sauegard of his owne lyfe. And if the romayns woloe prohibyt & deny that vnto hym/ whiche Justice permittet to euery man (that is/ with violence to resyst & repell violence) than shulde they nether do well noz ryghtwysely in that behalfe. Whan Jugurth had answered the embassadours after this maner: than sayd he for conclusion that shortly after he wold send embassadours to certify the senatours of all other thynges cōcernyng this busynes: and on this poynt Jugurth and the embassadours departed in sonder. Thus Adherball

Jugurth.

D.ii.

armis discedere, ita seq, illisq; dignum esse. Legati in Africam maturantes veniunt, eo magis q; Romæ, quum proficiscerant, de prelio facto et oppugnatione Cirtæ audiebatur.

Sed rumor clemens erat. Quorum Iugurtha accepta oratione respondit, sibi neq; maius quicq, neq; charius autoritate senatus esse: ab adolefcentia ita se enixum: ut ab optimo quoq; probaretur.

Virtute, non malitia Publio Scipioni summo viro placuisse, ob easdem et artes a Micipsa non penuria liberorum in regnum adoptatum esse.

Cæterum q; pleraq; bene atq; strenue fecisset, eo anim suū iniuriam minus tollerare. Adherbalem dolis vitæ sug infidiatū esse: quod ubi comperisset: sceleris obuiam ire.

Populum romanum neq; recte, neq; pro bono facturum: si a iure gētium sese prohibuerit. Postremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romam breui missurum. Ita utriq; digrediuntur. Adherbali modo fuit appellandi copia.



## The batayle

Jugurtha ubi eos Aphrica discessisse rat<sup>9</sup> est neq<sup>3</sup> propter loci naturam armis expugnare Cirtham potest: vallo atq<sup>3</sup> fossa metenia circumdat, turres extruit, easq<sup>3</sup> presidij firmat.

Præterea dies noctesque aut per vim, aut dolis retare: defensoribus mœniū præmia modo: modo formidinem ostentare suos hortâdo ad virtutem erigere: prorsus intētus cuncta parare.

At ubi Adherbal intelligit omnes fortunas suas in extremo sitas: hostem infestū: auxilij spem nullam: penuria necessariarum rerum bellum trahi non posse: ex his, qui vna Cirtham profugerant, duos

had no confort nor licence to reply agaynst the wordes of Jugurth/ nor syght of cōmunicacion with the embassadours: all onely was it graunted vnto hym to appelle to y<sup>e</sup> court of Rome/ for of these embassadours coude he haue / no iustice/ nor dyreccion/ in his iniuries and persecucion. Whan Jugurth thought that the embassadours were passed forth of Affrike/ towards Rome / and whan he sawe y<sup>e</sup> with force of armes he could nat wyne the towne of Cirtha/ bycause of naturall sytuacion & difficulte of the place. Anone he besiged the towne agayn of newe and all difficultes nat withstādyng/ he made a p<sup>ro</sup>founde & depe trench rounde about the towne with sharpe stakes & payles stycked on hyghest part of the same trenches with sharpe pykes on their bypper end. This dyde Jugurth for many cōsyderacions: first to thintent that the inhabitantes shuldnat breke forth of the towne sodenly at any syde vpon any part of his soudyours whiche besiged them. Secondly to thintent y<sup>e</sup> on no part any bitayles shulde be brought into them. Thirddly that the men of warre within the towne shuldnat thrust forth without y<sup>e</sup> to wne the multitude of poore commons in tyme of samyne & scarcite of vitayls. And fourthly: that no socours shuldnat entre into them to rescue the towne nor to supply theyr garyson. Whan this trenche was made & finished Jugurth moreouer made strong bulwarke & towres of tymber without the towne/ & strengthened the same with garyson of wyght & bolde men of armes. By syde all these ordinaūces he left nothyng vnassayed/ nother spared he to attēpt euery thyng by strength nor by treason & gyle. Somtyme he proued y<sup>e</sup> watchmen & defenders of y<sup>e</sup> walles with gyftes exortyng them to betray the towne. Whan his rewarde auayled nought than he thretned them with fiers & sharpe wordes: he inhaunced by exortacions the mynde & courages of his owne men to manlynes & audacite. And so he aplyed his busynesse that nothyng he omitted wont or possible to be done in such a case/ nor no ingyne of warre last he vnprouided which in those dayes was cōtinueed or found: but rather besyde all old inuencions he ymagined & deuysed newe ingynes & ordinaūces of warre nat sene before that tyme/ and all for distruction of the towne of Cirtha/ and of Adherbal whome he besyged with in the same. But what tyme Adherbal consydered his fortune come to extremite on all part/ he kest many thyng in mynde. On the one syde he perceyued his ennemy Jugurth violent agaynst hym/ and no trust of cōfort of socours. On the other syde he cōsydered well/ that for penury & want of soudyours & other thynges necessary he was nat able nother to fyght with his ennemy/ nor to dyue forth or prolong the batayle: and for

fauite of bytiple he myght nat long defende the towne. These thynges with many mo well reuolued in mynde/ he chose for the two which were most diligent and trusty of that company which had fled with hym into Cirtha. To them he wo fully be wayled his misfortune: and made so large promysse of rewardes vnto them: that at last he induced them to go for the of the towne by nyght pruely/ and if they myght escape they ennemis/ to resort to the next haupn towne: and from thens to haile them to Rome with letters whiche he had deuised and written to be deluierd to the senators. These messengers were trusty & saythfull/ within fewe dayes without any disturbance: they fulfilled the commaundement of theyr seruatyngne/ and deluierd the letters of Adherball vnto the senators. Which letters anone were redde in the counselhouse before the senators and rulers of Rome: of which letters the sentence hereafter insueth and was suche.

The sentence of the letters sent from Adherball vnto the senators of Rome: what tyme he lay beseged by Jugurth within the towne of Cirtha.

The. xv. chapter.



Most worthy fathers it is nat through my faute that I sende so often to you requiting your socours/ and cōplaining myne iniuries: but the violence & tyngout of Jugurth/ cōpelleth me therto. Whose mynde is spyled with so great a lust and desyre to becaue my lyfe: y nether hath he in mynde the drede of goddes punysshment/ nor fear of your displeasur. My blode he coueureth more than all thynges: In somoche that nowe is the. v. moneth sith I am kept closed/ & besiged w armed men/ by tyranny of Jugurth. He nothpyng regarding that I am cōfederate felowe & frende of the people of Rome. Nether can prouayle nor helpe y great benefites of my fader Dictys done to this Jugurth/ nor your authorite nor ordynances or decrees. I am vncertayn whyther I am constrained & oppressed more greuouly by force of armes or by hunger/ for bothe inuolueyth me on all sydes/ I wolde write vnto you moch more touchyng the tyrannous cruelte of Jugurth but my miserable fortune moueth me cōtrary: and moreover I haue often perceyued before this tyme: that small credence is gauen to such as are oppressed with misery: Saue this I perceyue clerely that the mynde of Jugurth coueureth gre ater Jugurth.

D. lli.

maxime impigros delegit: eos multa pollicendo ac miserando casum suū cōfirmat: vti per hostium munitiōes noctu ad primum mare, deinde Romam pergerent.

Numidæ paucis diebus iussa efficiunt.

Litterę Adherbalis in senatu recitate sunt, quarum sententia hæc erat,

Non mea culpa sæpe ad vos oratum mitto patres cōscripti, sed vis Iugurthę subegit quem tanta libido extinguiendi me inuasit: neq; vos, neq; deos immortales in aio habeat. Sanguinem meum q̄ oia malit. Itaq; iam quintū mēsem socius, et amicus populi romani armis obsessus teneor, neq; Micipsę patrię mei beneficia, neq; vestra decreta auxiliantur. Ferro an fame acrius vrgear incertus sum.

Plura de Iugurtha scribere dehortatur me fortuna mea: etiam ante expertus sum parum fidei miseris esse, tamen intelligo



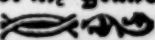
## The batayle

illum supra q̄ ego sum pe-  
zere. Neq̄ simul amicitia  
vestram et regnum meum  
sperare utrū grauius exi-  
stimet nemini occultū est.

Nam I Iudith occidit Hi-  
empsalem fratrem meū.  
Deinde patrio regno me  
expulit. Que sane fuerit  
nre iniurie: nihil ad vos.  
Verum nunc regnum ar-  
mis tenet. Me quem vos  
impatorem numidis pos-  
sistis clausum obsider:  
legatorum verba quanti  
fecerit: pericula mea de-  
clarant.

Quid reliquum nisi vis  
vestra qua moueri possit  
Nam ego quidem vellem  
hec que scribo et illa que  
antea in senatu questus  
sum vana forent: potius  
q̄ miseria mea fidem vos  
bis faceret: sed quoniam  
in eo natus sū: vt Iugur-  
thæ scelerum ostentui es-  
sem. Non iam mortē nec  
erumnas tantūmodo im-  
pium inimici et cruciat  
corporis deprecor. Regno  
Numidie patres conscri-  
pti quod vestrum est: vti  
libet consilite me man-  
ibus ab impijs eripite per  
magistatem imperij: per  
amicitiæ fidē: si vlla apud  
vos memoria manet aui  
mei Massinie.

thyng than my deth oꝝ kyngdome. And if by your sufferan-  
ce: he shall subdue me and beraue me kyngdom/ at last he shall  
rype and rebell agaynst your empyre. Wherefoze if ye lyst nat  
to defende & socour my lyfe: at leest: defende your kyngdome  
of Numidy/ and pzeuent the vsurper of your empire. Suffre  
nat this tyran to enioye the kyngdome of Numidy/ and  
your good wyl withal. But truly ye may well perceyue that  
he loketh nat after your sauour/ after he shal haue vsurped the  
realme of Numidy. But whyder he setteth lesse by losse of  
your frendshipp and sauour/ oꝝ of the dominion of Numidy:  
none is so blynde but that may euidently perceyue the trouth.  
Foꝝ his dedes declare: that he counteth lesse greuous to haue  
your hygh displeasur/ than to lose his fiers purpose to sle me/  
and than to occupy the hole lande of Numidy. Foꝝ this hath  
he proued and made manifest by his vnnaturall and cruell  
dedes: first of all he hath slayne my brother Hemptall: which  
dede he durst nat haue done if he had feared your displeasur:  
next that: he dyoue me forth of my countrey and fathers kyng-  
dome. But these iniuries foꝝ certayne/ were done agaynst my  
brother and me/ and nothyng they longed to you. But nowe  
he conspyrith hyer inuadyng/ vsurpyng/ and wastynge the  
hole lande of Numidy with foꝝce of armes. And where as ye  
set me as your lieutenant vnder you to gouerne a part of Nu-  
midy. This Iugurth nowe hath dyuen me from my liberte  
into the towne of Cirtha/ and besegeth me with men of armes  
closed on all sydes with outwarde drede and inward famine:  
So that my perys may playnly declare how lytell he secreteth  
by the wordes of your embassadours. Certaynly I can se  
nothyng remaynyng able to remoue his violence/ noꝝ that  
can socour this my misery/ saue onely your power and vio-  
lence. I wolde ryght gladly: that these thynges whiche nowe  
I wryte to you/ and all those thyngs which I haue complay-  
ned before in the counselhouse were but sayned & false: rather  
than this my euident misery shulde proue them true & credi-  
ble vnto you. But sith I was boꝝne in that hour/ and my de-  
stiny is such that Iugurth moost manifest his cursed cruelte  
by me/ therfoꝝe now my request noꝝ prayer is nat that I may  
escape the sharpnes and cruelte of miserable deth/ whiche I  
beholde instant and ineuitable/ but onely my prayer is that I  
may escape the long subiection and bondage of my enemy:  
and prolonged tourment/ of my miserable body. But worthy  
fathers: touchyng the kyndome of Numidy/ which apertay-  
neth to you: prouide you foꝝ the same as it lyketh you/ and if  
it be your pleasure: ryd and delpue me from the cruell & vno-  
mercifull handes of Iugurth my mortall enemy foꝝ the ho-

nour and mageste of your empyre / and for the fidelite of all frenshyp / yf any remembraunce of my grandfather Massinissa remayneth yet among you. 

**H**owe the senatours sēde newe embassadours to Jugurth / commaundynge him to desyst from psecucion of Adherball: and howe they preuailed nothyng: how the towne of Cyttha was yelded to Jugurth: and howe he slewe Adherball.

**The. xvi. chapter.**

**A**fter these foresayde letters were openly red & recyted befoze the senato's: many of them wey: which couſayled to send an army into Affrike / & in all hast cōuenient to socour & helpe Adherball. And in the meane tyme they wold take counsell & aduise touching Jugurth what shulde be done to hym: bycause he had nat obeyed theyr embassado's. Whan the fauourers of Jugurth herd of this they laboured withall theyr myght: that no such decre shulde be made nor pcede to effect. And thus the cōmen wele was overcome & subdued by pryuate profet & parciall fauour: as in many other busynesses is dayly wont to happen. At withstanding this parcialite: at last it was so determined: that other new embassado's wey sent yet ones agayn into Affrike / nat yong men & inepert as befoze: but well aged men of grauite and discrecion whiche were of great dignite: & had borne great & woorthypfull offices i tyme past in the cite of Rome. Amonge which embassadours was one named Marcus Emilius Scaurus / of whome we haue made mencion befoze. This Scaurus was a man by riches & fame couſted able to be couſellour of Rome: and also at that tyme a myghty prince & great doer among the senato's / & in maner ruler of them all. For almost as all men for the moost part were displeased w Jugurth & soze murmured agaynst his cruelte & agaynst the parciall fauour shewed to hym at Rome: & also for that the messāgers of Jugurth besought the embassado's to hast them to Numidy / therfoze the third day after theyr cōmission they deptyed from Italy & toke shyppyng & in short tyme after arpyued in Affrike / at a cite named Utica in a prouince subiect to the romains. Allone as they were arpyued they sēde letters vnto Jugurth chargyng hym in all hast to cōme to the sayd prouince to knowe the pleasur of the senatours of Rome whiche had sēde them thyder for the nonys with certen commaundementes dyrect vnto hym.

**I**n literis recitata fuisse qui exercitū i Aphricam mittendum decernerent: quā prius Adherbali subuendendum. interim de Jugurtha consuleretur quoniam legatis non paruiſſet. sed ab ipsodem regis fautoribus summa ope enixum est ne tale decretum fieret: ita bonum publicum (ut plerisque negotiis solet) priuata gratia deuictum. Legantur tamen in Aphricā maiores natu / nobiles amplis honoribus uſi: in quibus fuit Marcus Emilius Scaurus de quo supra memorauimus homo cōſularis: & tum in senatu potens princeps.

**Hi** & Jugurthę res in inuidia erat: ſimulet a Numidis obſecratū triduo nauem aſcendere. Deinde breui Vticam appulſi literas ad Jugurthā mittunt quociffime ad prouinciam accedat: ſeq ad eum ab ſenatu miſſos.



## The batayle

Ille vbi homines claros  
quorū authoritatē Romæ  
pollere audierat contra  
inceptū suū venisse acce-  
pit: primo cōmotus metu  
atq; libidine diuersus agi-  
rabatur. Timebat irā se-  
natus ni paruisset legatū.  
Porro animus cæcus cus-  
pidine ad inceptū rapie-  
bat. Vicit tamen in auido  
ingenio prauū cōsiliū.

Igitur exercitu cōparato  
lūma vi Cirtham irrūpe-  
re nitit̃ maxime sperans  
diducta manu hostiū aut  
vi, aut dolis, sese casum  
victoriæ inuenturū quod  
vbi secus procedit, neq;  
quod intenderat efficere  
potest: vt prius q̃ legatos  
cōueniret: Adherbale pos-  
tūrese ne amplius morādo  
Scaurus: quem plurimū  
metuebatur: incenderet: cū  
paucis equitibus in pro-  
uinciam venit.

Actamēsi senatus verbis  
mine graues nunciabant  
q̃ ab oppugnatione Cir-  
thæ non desisteret: multa  
tamen oratiōe cōsumpta  
legati frustra discessere.  
Ea postq̃ Cirthæ audita  
sunt: Italici: quorum vir-  
tutē mœnia desēdebant,  
cōsiliū deditiōe facta pro-  
pter magnitudinem pos-  
tuli Romani inuiolatos  
sese fore.

Adherbali suadent vti se  
et oppidum Iugurthē trā-  
dat: tantum ab eo vitam  
paciscatur, cæteris senas  
tuituram fore.

Whan Iugurth vnderstode that suche noble men/famous/ &  
of preeminent authorite at Rome were come to prohiby his  
interpryse/ at first begynnyng he was somewhat troubled with  
dredde/ on the other part his lust was moche kyndled to wyne  
the towne of Cirtha/ and to get Adherball into his hādes/ and  
so was his mynde diuersly distract with dredde & desyre: with  
dredde of the embassadours/ and with desyre to byng his pur-  
pose to effect. Greatly he feared the angre & displeasur of the  
senatours if he shyd nat obey theyr embassadours: but his  
mynde on the other part was bitterly blynded by lust of domi-  
nion/ whiche desyre drew hym violently to perfoyme that he  
had begon. And so at conclusion in such mynde despyrous of  
lozdshyp/ the worst counsell ouercame the best. And couetise  
excluded feare: and thus he determined in mynde to wyne the  
towne (if he myght) befoze he wold go to cōmen with the em-  
bassadours. This thyng determined and fixed in mynde he  
compased the towne about with his army: and with great  
violence assayled it contendyng to breke in therto: this dyd  
he: trustyng that namely: by diuidyng of his army on all sy-  
des of the towne/ and compellynge his ennemis within the  
towne to breke theyr hole company for to defende the walles  
assayled on all parties/ he myght at last by such meanes wyne  
victory ouer them. But after many & sharpe assautes at last  
whan he sawe his purpose proceeded nat to effect/ and that he  
was nat of power to haue his pleasure of the towne & of Ad-  
herball befoze he shulde cōmen with the embassado's / he was  
right pensyue in mynde. And lest his plonyng might angre  
Scaurus & chiefe of the embassado's whom he greatly dreadde:  
at last he came into the prouince with a small cōpany of horse  
men. Allone as he was come the embassadours shewed vnto  
hym many greuous manaces & wordes of displeasour in name  
of all the senate: by cause he celled nat for all theyr cōmaundes  
mentes from besegnyng of the towne of Cirtha / but at cōclu-  
sion aft moch cōmunicacion spent in bayne: the embassado's  
depyed agayn to Rome: without any dyrection or apoyntmēt  
made. Whan tidynges herof came to Cirtha such as defended  
the towne were moch abashed/ but Adherball most of all. At  
last the Italians/ of whome many were within the towne: and  
by whole strength the walles were chesely defended/ began to  
thynte among themselfe if the towne were yelde by to Ju-  
gurth/ he durst nat be so bolde to shewe any violence agaynst  
them for the honour & mageste of the name of Romayns. For  
asmoche as the same Italiās were couēted as romayns in suche  
dyuises they came to Adherball & hym aduised to yelde hym  
selfe & the towne to Iugurth vpon apoyntment & condicion/

that the same Jugurth onely wolde promysse to graunt hym his lyfe: and as touchyng all other iniuries which Jugurth had done to hym/the senatours whan they shulde tyme oportune & conuenient wolde se a dysceccion and remedy: Adherball heryng this counsell / anone cōsydered in his mynde that nothyng coude be moze vnstable no: moze incertayne / than was the promysse of Jugurth. Agayn he called to mynde that if he accorded nat to theyr counsell it was in theyr power to compell hym thereto. And so accordyng to theyr aduysment he yelded by the towne to Jugurth bypon promysse onely to haue his lyfe saued. But anone Jugurth contrary to his promysse put Adherball to deth first of all with manyfolde tourmētes. After that he slewe all the ponge and lusty men of the towne / bothe Numidyans & Italyans marchauntes indifferently: sparyng non namely if they were founde in harnesse.

**How** the senatours certisyed of this cruelte of Jugurth prepared an army agaynst hym: howe the embassadours of Jugurth were nat receyued into Rome: and howe Calphurnius the romayn captayne was adloped by bybes of Jugurth.

The. xxiii. chapter.

**W**hen this cruelte of Jugurth was known at Rome the senato's beganne to take counsell what thyng was best to be done in the case. But they whose fauour Jugurth had bought before soze distourbed the counsell / and plunged the tyme with fayre wordes & praper somtyme: somtyme with fauorable promysse made to other lordes: And other whyle w bzaulpyng and thretyngge couertly. In somoche that by suche meanes: at last they alayed the displeasur taken agaynst Jugurth & mitigated the cruelte of his dedes. And certaynly all the yll wpll and hatred whiche was taken agaynst Jugurth shuld: betterly haue ben let fall & quēched by dyspyng forth the tyme in counsellpyng: had nat ben the resystence & repugnaunce of one named Caius Memmius: So great was the power of the fauour & treasure of Jugurth. This Memmius was elect and assigned to be protectour of the cōmens for the pery next insuyng & was a man sharpe and fiers of cōdicions / and agaynst the power of the noble men of Rome wll his myght: and therfoze whan he sawe this vnreasonable fauour & parcialite among the senatours he inforzmed the cōmen people that the senatours were about to pardon the cruelte of Jugurth / by couetyse and corrupcion of a fewe debatefull lordes. The cōmenty vnderstandyng this / was soze moued agaynst

At ille: tametsi oia potiora fide Jugurthæ reparatur / tamen quia penes eosdē: si aduersaretur: cogendi potestas erat: ita uti censuerant Italici: deditio: nem facit.

Jugurtha imprimis Adherbalem excruciatū necat, deinde oēs puberes Numidas atq; negociatores promiscue / ut quisque armatus obuius fuerat, interfecit.

**Q**Uod postq̃ Romæ cognitū esset res in senatu agitari cepit: iidem ministri regis interpellādo ac saepe gratia interdum iurgijs / trahendo tempus atrocitatem facti leuabant.

At ni Caius Memmius / Tribunus plebis designatus / vir acer et infestus potentie nobilitatis / populum romanum edocuisse / id agi / ut per paucos factiosos Jugurthæ scelus condonaret, profecto oia inuidia in prolatadis cōsultationibus dilapsa foret. Tanta vis gratie atq; pecunie regis erat.

Sed ubi senatus delicti



conscientia populum ti-  
met; lege Sempronia pro-  
uinciarum futuris consulis  
Numidia, atque Italia de-  
crete sunt.

Cōsules declarati Publi-  
Scipio Nasica, Lucius  
Calphurnius Bestia, Cal-  
phurnio Numidia, Sci-  
pioni Italia obuenit. De-  
inde exercitus qui in Aphri-  
cam portaretur: scribitur:  
stipendium aliaque quae bel-  
lo vsui foret decernuntur.  
At Iugurtha contra spem  
nuncio accepto (quippe  
cui omnia venum ire Romae  
in animo henerat) filium  
et cum eo duos familiares  
ad senatum legatos mittit.  
Hisque uti illis, quos Hi-  
empsale interfecto, mise-  
rat: precepit omnis mor-  
tales uti pecunia aggres-  
diantur.

Qui postquam Romam adue-  
rabant: senatus a Bestia  
consultus est: placeret ne  
legatos Iugurthae recipi

## The batayle

the senatours & counsell. And the senatours agayne soze sea-  
ret the comens: bycause of the offences bothe of Iugurth and  
of them in fauouring hym were openly knowen: therfore they  
dabde lest all the comens toynded togyder myght make insur-  
rection agaynst them: wherfore they thought it necessary to  
pacify and alay the comens. Nowe it was so that long before  
this tyme a noble man of Rome named Sempzonius whyle  
he was in authozite made a statute and lawe that if it fortu-  
ned at any tyme: that the Romayns stode in doute and feare  
lest any warre or batayle myght come vpon them sodenly /  
newe cōsuls than shulde be chosen & assigned for the next yere  
to come / and send into suche prouynces where the batayle or  
warre was feared. These consuls were thus chosen before the  
yere of the olde consuls was fully expyred to thintent that in  
meane tyme they myght haue moze tyme and layser to make  
conuenient prouision for the warre: And this act so decreed  
was called the lawe of Sempzonius bycause he first inacted  
the same. By this lawe of Sempzonius: the two prouynces  
of Numidy and Italy were decreed to the two cōsuls for the  
yere to come. The prouince of Italy to be defended & conser-  
ued: and the puince of Numidy to be recouerd (Scipio Na-  
sica) (and Calphurnius Bestia) were proclaimed Cōsuls for  
the next yere comyng. The lande of Numidy came by lotte to  
Calphurnius that he shulde do his diligence to recouer the  
same / and the countrey of Italy fell to Scipio to defende the same.  
After this an army was assembled to be sende into Affrike / &  
so forth to Numidy: wages / and bitayles for the sowdyours  
with other thynges nedefull to warre / were decreed of the se-  
natours / and payed of the cōsull Calphurnius. But whan  
Iugurth herd tidyngs from his frēdes at Rome of this ordy-  
naūce / & percepued that the mater went froward / other wyle than  
he trusted it shulde haue done. For his mynde was fixed the all  
thyng ryght & wrong myght be bought & sold at Rome: nowe  
went he in hand agayn with his olde craftes / and sende his  
sonne with other two of his moost familer & trusty frends em-  
balladours vnto the senatours. And lyke as he had comaun-  
ded those embassado's whome he had sende to Rome after he  
had murthered Hiēpsal: right so he comaunded these that they  
shuld go in hande to stope euery mānes mouth with money. For  
in his great treasour & in couetyse of the rulers of Rome was  
all his confidence. O cursed hunger of golde most execrable:  
thou driuest blynde myndes to ples innumerable. Whan these  
embassadours of Iugurthe were come nere to Rome: the  
consull Calphurnius demaunded aduise and counsell of the  
senatours whpyther it pleased them that the sayd embassado's

shuld be receyued within the walles of Rome or nat. But the  
senatours decreed/that except they came to yelde bothe Ju-  
gurth & the kyngdome of Numidy vnto þ Romans: vpon a  
great payne they shuld depart out of þ countrey of Italy/wi-  
th. dayes next after. Calphurnius comaunded this ordinance &  
decree of þ senato's to be borne & declared to the Numidyas  
by one named Decius. And so the ambassado's departed home  
agayne without any thyng done/wherefore they came. In the  
meane tyme Calphurnius prepared his army: & chose vnto  
hym noble men/ debatable/and haupnge many clientes and  
seruantes retayned with them. This dyd he/to thynke that if he  
dyd any thyng amysse in his biage: he myght trust to be sup-  
ported by theyr authorite. Among whome was named Scau-  
rus: of whose condicions and behauour I haue spoken before.  
But in this cōsull Calphurnius/were many good properties  
and vertuous condicions/bothe of mynde & body: but the cur-  
sed vice of couetyse whiche was in hym; blynded & ouercame  
all those vertues: so that he put them nat i execution: he myght  
well indure labour / his wpt was quicke & prignant: he was  
prouident & ware ynough / In batayle he was so expert that  
in greatest paryll he was boldest and strongest agaynst gyles  
of his ennemys. But to our purpose/this Calphurnius when  
he had elect & assembled suche company as hym thought com-  
petent for an army/he deuyded all his hoost into legions/con-  
taynyng in euery legion. vi. M. vi. C. lx. & six men. And so  
sende forth is men by legions by þ countrey of Italy/to a towne  
called Regium/ which towne is i the marches bytwene Italy  
& Cecile: from this towne of regium they were couayed into Ce-  
cile into Affrike/and there they mustred and were set in aray/  
and so proceeded by lande tyll they attayned vnto Numidy.  
Anone Calphurnius prepared bitayles and all maner ordy-  
nances requisite / and proceeded forwarde/assaylyng fierly  
the lande of Numidy/as a hardy captayne/pretendyng great  
valiantise at the first brynt. Many men toke he prisoners /  
and a fewe townes he subdued vnto hym: suche as respyled  
his power he brynt them / to the grounde to increase fere to  
theyr neighbours. Jugurth aduertying this sharpnes of Cal-  
phurnius sende ambassadours to hym w great plenty of gold  
to accept his mynde/and shewed vnto hym þ hardnes & diffi-  
culty of the warre whiche he had begon. When Calphurnius  
felt the wyght and valour of the gylstryng golde/his corrupt  
and vnstable mynde by contagion of couetyse/anone was per-  
uerted to receyue the money/and induced to fauour and assist  
the part of Jugurth. But Scaurus (of whome I haue spo-  
ken before) was receyued vnto them for partiner and felowe

menibus. Hijs decreuere  
ni regnum/ipsamq; dedi-  
tum venissent vti diebus  
in proximis decem Italia  
decederent.

Consul Numidix ex sena-  
tus decreto nunciari ius-  
bet. Ita infectis rebus il-  
li domū discedunt. Inte-  
rim Calphurnius parato  
exercitu legit sibi hoīes  
nobiles/ factiosos/ quorū  
auctoritate quę deliquis-  
set munta fore sperabat  
In quib⁹ fuerat Scaurus  
de curus natura et habitu  
supra memorauimus.

Nam in consule nō mul-  
te boneq; artes animi et  
corporis erant: quas om-  
nis auaricia prepediebat  
patiens laborum: acri in-  
genio: satis prouidens:  
belli haud ignarus: for-  
tissimus contra pericula  
et insidias. Sed legiones  
per Italiam Rhegiū atq;  
inde in Siciliam. Porro  
ex Sicilia in Africam  
transfuecte sunt.

Igitur Calphurnius i in-  
itio paratis cōmeatibus  
acriter Numidiā aggressus  
est, multos mortalis  
et vrbes aliquot pugnans  
do capit.

Sed vbi Jugurtha plega-  
tos pecunia tentare, bel-  
liq; quod administrabat  
asperitatem ostendere coe-  
pit, anim⁹ eger auaricia  
facile conuersus est.

Ceterum socius et mini-  
ster omnium consiliorum



## The batayle

assumitur Scaurus: qui tametsi a principio plerisque ex factione eius corruptis acerrime regem impugnabat: magnitudine pecunie a bono honestoque in prauum abstractus est.

Sed Iugurtha primum belum tantummodo moram redimebat: existimans se aliquid interim Romae precii, o aut gratia effecturum. Postea vero participem negotij Scaurum accepit: in maximam spem adductus recuperandae pacis: statuit cum eis de omnibus pacationibus presens agere.

Ceterum interea fidei causa mittitur a consule Sertius questor in oppidum Iugurthae Vaccam: cuius rei species erat acceptio frumenti: quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperauerat: quoniam deditio nis mora inducie agitantur.

Igitur rex (vbi constitutus) in castra peruenit ac pauca presenti consilio locutus de inuidia facti sui atque vbi in deditio nem acciperetur:

reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secreto transigit.

Deinde

of al they: counsels & busynesses. And howbeit at begynnynge this same Scaurus strongly resisted the party of Iugurth: what tyme many other of his sect were corrupt and accloped w<sup>th</sup> b<sup>ri</sup>b<sup>es</sup> long befoze this: neuertheles now at last his mynde was abstract lyke other mo from the defence of goodnes and honesty vnto his olde vice of insatiable & execrable couetyse by meane of habundance of gold and great rewardes of Iugurth. But at first begynnynge this Iugurth redeemed of Calphurnius / but onely delayng and deferrynge of the warre: trusyng that in meane tyme he shuld bypnye about somwhat of his purpose at Rome other by price / prayer / or fauour. But nowe after he had won Scaurus to be partiner of his busynes and fauourer of his cause also with Calphurnius: he was brought into a very great trust fully to recouer his peace at Rome: and concluded whyle both Calphurnius & Scaurus were there present togyder to take aduysment & treat presently with them of all apoyntment & thyngs necessary to be done for p<sup>ro</sup>fourmyng of his purpose. Howbeit he trusted nat Calphurnius so moche that he wolde come to his army / except some hostages of the Romayns were left within some strong towne of his: & in warde of his people wherby he myght trust without damage safely to be remitted agayn to his army. Calphurnius to auoyd this dought of Iugurth & to put hym in moze assurance sende the treasourer of the Romayne army named Sertius / vnto one of the chiefe towncs belongynge to Iugurth called Vacca / sayng amonge the army that he sent the sayd treasourer thither for p<sup>ro</sup>uision of whete & other vitayls necessary to his host. And the same commaundement to p<sup>ro</sup>uide vitayls the captayn Calphurnius gaue to his treasourer openly in comen audience: to thynke that no man shuld suspect his false purpose: sayng to his treasourer that hym neded nat to be in dout of Iugurth / for asmoche as trues were taken bytwene bothe parties tyll a certayn day prefixed. The treasourer Sertius went to the sayd cyte of Vacca at commaundement of Calphurnius his captayne. Wherfoze anone after Iugurth (lyke as he apoynted befoze) came to the army of Calphurnius / and there in presence of the rulers & counsell of the Romains / spake a lytell of his purgacion / concernynge the displeasure / enuy / & hatredte / whiche the senate and commons of Rome had taken agaynst hym for his dedes: sayng that he had nought done but p<sup>ro</sup>uoked of his ennemies / and for his owne defence: with violence to resyst violence. Howbeit he sayd that he was contented to yelde & submit hym selfe vnto the Romayns clemencie and mercy. Somoch spoke he openly befoze all the chiefe counsell of the army. But all the remenaunt he

menaunt he concluded and dyd secretly with Calphurnius & Scaurus at more leasure/ and thus ended þe comunicacion of this day. On the next day after insynge the captayne and the counsell of the army / & also Jugurth assembled togyder agayn to common of the same mater concernynge peace to be graunted to Jugurth. Nowe was it so that at Rome was decreed an ordinaunce long before this tyme named among the romayns the *Satyre lawe*/ whiche lawe comaunded that the captayne of euery army shulde aske aduise of all the wyse counsell of his hoost whan he went about any weythy mater cōcernynge the cōmen wele. Wherfoze Colphurnius thought so to order hymselfe that he shulde nat be counted a brecare of this lawe: And despyed counsell & aduise of all the noble and wyse men of his hoost. This dyd he to thynkēt that if the peace graunted to Jugurth shulde be after ward dysallowed at Rome (as it was) he myght auoyde the faute from hymselfe into the cōmon counsell. But at cōclusion/ whan Calphurnius accordynge to the sayd lawe had requyred aduise of the common counsell: euery man cōsented that peace shulde be graunted to Jugurth: vpon cōdicion & cōuenaunt that he shulde deliuer vnto the romayns thertie Ellyphantes with moche other catell and many hoxses with a great somme of golde. To which ordinaunce Jugurth accorded and soone after deliuered the same Ellyphantes/ catell/ and hoxses & golde vnto the tresorer of the Romayne hoost. This done þe consull Calphurnius departed to Rome to requyre the senatours & other rulers to cōferme this peace & cōcozde whiche they had made with Jugurth. In meane tyme ouer all Numydy and also in the Romayne army was peace and cōcozde in abydynge the answer of the senate and rulers at Rome.

Howe the rulers of Rome for the moost parte were greuouly displeased for grauntyng of this peace: and dysallowed the same. And how Memmius inflamed the cōmen people agaynst the fauourers of Jugurth. *The. xviii. Chapter.*

**U**t after it was knowne at Rome in what maner the consull had behaued hymselfe in Affrike with Jugurth: in euery place about Rome/ and among euery company within Rome it was cōmpned of the dede of Calphurnius. In someche that among the cōmeny was raysed greuous hatred & displeasure agaynst hym. The senato's were soze trou-  
Jugurth.

Deinde postero die quasi per satyram legem sentētijs exquisitis in deditio- nem accipitur.

Sed uti pro consilio impatū erat: eliphanti / triginta pecus / atque equi multi non cum paruo ar- gento pondere questori traduntur.

Calphurnius romam ad magistratus rogādos proficiscitur. In Numidia et in exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

**P**ostquam autem res in Africa gestas et quos modo acce forent fama diuulgauit. Rome per omnis locos et conuentus de facto consulis agitari apud plebem grauis inuidia orta est. Patres solliciti erant an probarent tantum flagitium an decre-



## The batayle

tum cōsulū subuerterēt:  
parum constabat. At mas-  
xime eos potentia Scau-  
ri q̄ is auctor et socius  
Bestie ferebat a vero bos  
nūq̄ impediebat.

At Caius Mēmius: de cu-  
ius libertate ingenij / et  
odio potētie nobilitatis  
supra diximus interdus-  
bitationem: et moras se-  
natus in concionibus po-  
pulum ad vendicandum  
hortari: monere populū  
romanum ne libertatem  
suam defererent: crude-  
lia et superbamulta faci-  
nora nobilitatis ostende-  
re: prorsus intentus ome-  
nino plebis animum ace-  
cendebat.

Sed quoniam ea tēpesta-  
te Rome Memmij sacun-  
dia clara / pollens que su-  
it decere existimaui vnā  
(ex tā multis) orationem  
eius perscribere: ac potis-  
simū eam dicam quā in  
cōcione post reditū bes-  
tie huiuscemodi verbis  
dixerunt.

**M**ulta me dehortant  
a vobis quiritēs: ni-  
si studium rei publi-  
cæ omnia superet: opes fa-  
tionis: vestra patientia:  
ius nullum: ac maxime q̄  
innocentie plus periculi  
q̄ honoris est.

bled & were in doute whpyther they myght cōferme and alowe  
this foule and shamefull dede of the consull / or els abrogate  
and annull the same. In this perplexite they were longe tyme  
vncertayne: And moost of all the myght and power of Scau-  
rus (bycause he was a doer and felowe with the consull in the  
sayd dede) let them frome discussyng of the tpyght. But whyle  
the senatours in suche wyse prolonged the tyme. In this du-  
bitacion Memmius (of whose condicions / promptnes of  
wytte / and hatred: whiche he had agaynst the power of the  
estates and noble men we haue wrytten befoze) at dyuers ty-  
mes he assembled the cōmon people / exhortyng & inflamyng  
them to reuenge the cruelte of Jugurth / and parcialite of his  
sauourers / & warnyng them nat to forsake the defence of their  
cōmen wayle and libertie of theyr cite. He reherled vnto them  
the pryde / the cruelte / & manyfolde vnlawfull dedes of the se-  
natours & of other estates at many tymes done to disworshyp  
and oppression of the cōmen wele. And vtterly at conclusiō  
so he behaued hymselfe that he kyndled the myndes of the vnt-  
uersall cōmentie to resyst the parcialpte of the estates / and to  
se the cruelte of Jugurth extremly punysshed. But bycause  
the eloquence of this Memmius at that season was at Rome  
notable and moche set by / dycretet & of great authorite: I ha-  
ue intended of so many exhortacions as he had to the people:  
to cōmpt one to remembraunce by wrytynge: And specially be-  
foze all other I wyl wryte that exhortacion which after retur-  
nyng of Calphurnius from Affrike the sayd Memmius spake  
befoze the cōmen people in fourme folowyng.

**T**he orison of Memmius had befoze the com-  
men people of Rome. In whiche orison he indu-  
ceth them to desēde their lyberte: And to repressse  
and persecute with hatred the noble men of Ro-  
me.

### The .xix. Chapter.

**R**ight worthy cetyzins many thyngs  
shulde withdraue me from defence of you and  
from charge & medlyng with your bulpneses  
were nat the great loue & fauour which I haue  
to the comen wele: that causeth me to sette a-  
syde all suche impedimentes / and vtterly to take vpon me the  
defence of your lyberte agaynst these corrupt estates. Moze  
playnly to ascertayne you: the thynges whiche myght with-  
draue me from defence of your cause be these. First the power  
of them which are begynners of this variaūce: that is to say of

Calpurnius and Scaurus. Secondly your paciēce which is easy to be subdued of crueltie: sith ye be disposed to endure this wronge. And thypdly the infection of Justice which is no where here among vs/ but cleene expyled from oure cite. And principally this letteth me for that I se you so innocent/ so feeble mynded/ and so symple that in euery place ye are sure of all the peryll/ of all the laboure/ and of all the payne: but these estates which do nought that is comendable haue all the honour/ auantage/ and worshyppe. And sochelp: it greueth me to speke to you of the iniury that now of late hath ben done to you: howe moche ye haue ben had in skorne derision/ and in dysdayne: to the power and pride of a fewe estates. And also it greueth to recount howe vntreuged many of your defenders by them haue shamefully ben put to deth for your sake within these fyftene yeres. And to se howe your myndes be corrupt with cowardyse and negligence that ye wolde neuer socoure them which in your quarell and defence haue subdued themselves to deth. What intende ye: wyl ye stpy be subgette vnto these estates your ennemyes. It is surely tyme at the last to arpyse and defende your libertie/ ye do dzebe them: whome it semeth to dout and to dzebe you/ conspydering your true querell/ and they: vngoodly mysdoemeanour. But nat withstandyng that ye be thus disposed to lose your libertie & in mysery to passe for the srespydue of your lyues / neuertheles the good wyl/ which I haue to you and to the common wele causeth and dzyueth my mynde to respyt this fals fauoure and parcialyte of these proude and vniuste lordes. Certesse I shall assaye and proue howe I can defende the libertie which my father left me: but whyther I shall so do to auantage or elles in bayne that lyeth hole in your handes and power. Surely worthy cizeyins I do nat erhozt you to withstande these wronges and oppressions with force of armes as our forefathers haue often done. To respyt and repell this wronge nedeth no violence no deuyng of you from the senatours as your elders haue done before tyme. It must ned be that these great men cōsiderat in malpyce at last shall come to decay by they: owne condicions and insolent behauour.

¶ Were nat sharpe inquisicions and greuous examinacions had agaynst the comen people of Rome/ after that Tiberius Gracchus was slayne for the defence of the lawes belongyng to the commentie: whome his euylwylles accused as vsurper of kyngdome ouer the comen people. And mozeouer after that Caius Gracchus and Marcus Fuluius were put to deth for defendyng of your lyberte/ were nat many of your ozder and behauoure that is to say of the commentie put to deth

Jugurth.

C. ii.

Nam illā quidem piget dicere: his annis quindécim q̄ ludibrio fueritis superbie paucorum: q̄ fedi: q̄que multi perierunt vestri defēsores: vt nobis animus ab ignauia atque secordia corruptus sit: qui ne nūc quidē obnoxij inimicis exurgitis.

Atque etiam nunc timetis eos: quibus terrori decet esse. Sed q̄ hęc talia sunt: tamen obuiam ire potentie factionis animus subegit.

Certe ego libertatē (que mihi aparēte meo tradita est) experiar. Verum id frustra/ an ob rem faciā in vestra manu situm est.

Neque vos hortor (quod sepe vestri maiores fecerunt) contra iniurias armati eatis: nihil vi nec secessione opus est: necesse est suomet ipsi more precipites eant.

Ceciso Tiberio Graccho (quem regnū parare homines aiebant) in plebē romanā graues habite sūt questiones. Post Caij Gracchi et Marci Fuluij eadem: item vestri ordinis multi mortales i carcere necati sunt. Vtriusque cladis non lex verū



libido eorum finem fecit.  
Sed sane fuerit regnare  
paratio plebi sua iurare  
fituere quicquid sine fā-  
guine citium vlcisci ne-  
quit inre factum sit.

Superioribus annis taci-  
ti indignabamini erariū  
exilari: reges et popu-  
los liberos paucis nobili-  
bus vestigal pendere: pē-  
nes eosdem et sumam gli-  
am et maximas diuitias  
esse: Italia facinora im-  
pune suscepisse parum ha-  
buere.

Itaque postremo leges ma-  
gestas yra diuina et hu-  
mana oīa hostibus tradita  
sunt.

Neque qui ea fecere pun-  
get aut panitet: sed inces-  
dunt perora vestra ma-  
gnifice: sacerdotia et cō-  
sulatus: pars triumphos  
sues ostentantes: perinde  
quasi ea honori non pre-  
de habeant.

Seruitate comparati in-  
iusta imperia dñorum nō  
pferunt. Vos quiritēs in  
imperio rati: equo ani-  
mo seruitutem toleratis.  
At qui sunt hi qui rēpu-  
blicam occupauere? ho-  
mines sceleratissimi: cru-  
entis manibus immā-  
ni avaritia: nocentissimi:  
idemq; superbissimi: qui-  
bus decus / fides / pietas /  
postremo honesta atq; in-  
honestia oīa questui sunt.

## The batayle

or murthered in prison: And at bothe the seasons the estates  
made none ende of theyr crueltie agaynst you after the lawe /  
but after theyr immoderate pleasure. Well forsothe I graunt  
that it be reputed for treason and vsurpacion of a kyngdome  
to defende the lawes and the ryght of the commonthe: and I  
graunt also that what thyng can nat be cōdyguely punished  
without effusyon of blode of many citezins: that the same pu-  
nishment be executed accordyng to lawe and ryght vpon  
a fewe suche as were begynnners of the trespassse. Within these  
fewe yeres passed ye dysdayned & murmured secretly among  
your selfe that the sayd lordes spoyled the common treasure  
without your consent: And that kynges and nacions contri-  
butoy to Rome / payed theyr trybutes to a fewe priuate esta-  
tes / and nat generall to the vniuersall cite in common: and ye  
grutchted that these estates hadde all the most dignite and all  
the rychesse & treasure / also in theyr handes. Nevertheless  
they couēted but a small thyng to escape vnpunished for these  
so great offences. Wherfore now are they become so bolde / so  
fiers / and proude: by your sufferance that at last they haue  
betrayed and put in handes of your ennemys / your lawes /  
your dignite / your mageste / withall other thynges bothe hus-  
mayne and diuine to your libertie belongyng. So that in  
pardonynge of these inhumayne & cruell offences of Jugurth  
they haue polluted & betrayed the lawes bothe of god & man.  
And how best that such is theyr demeanour it nothyng repen-  
teth them: nor they be nought asshamedde therof. But dayly  
sette before your faces solemnly and pompously boasting them-  
selfe: Some of theyr dignities / theyr lordshippes / and offi-  
ces. And other some crakyng of theyr triumphes and victo-  
ries / as who sayeth that they attayned the same by honour /  
and nat by falsehodde and robberie. Haue ye nat dayly expe-  
rience seying that symple bondmen bought & solde for money  
wyl nat suffre nor endure the vniust commaundementes of  
theyr lordes or maisters. But cōtrary wyse ye gentylmen: fre  
borne cetyzens are contented to suffre with meke myndes this  
bondage wherein ye are holden subgette by the power of these  
lordes. But I pray you what maner of men be these whiche  
thus subdue you / and presume thus longe to occupy the com-  
men wayle at this season: forsothe they be men most vicious /  
with bloody handes infected / with the blode of innocents.  
Men of immoderate and insaciablen couetys: nopsom & gre-  
uous to euery god man. Whose pride incredyble no man can  
comprehende / which for money haue solde and dayly are redy  
for to sell for lucre: theyr fidelite / theyr wordshyppe / theyr deuot-  
yon / and good name: And byesely all thynges honest & disho-

nest are they reby to do for auantage. Wherby it apereth euidently that all they: ioye & felicity resteth in couetpse. Some of them count themselves more assured bycause they haue slayne the protectours of the commonwele to the intent that other may drede them so moche more: And other some of them in wrong examinations & inquisitions had agaynst you reioyse and count them selfe hardye & surer therby: And many other thynketh they: defence and auancement in murdering of you boasting them selfe of the same: and thus howe moche woys that eche of them doth: the more sure he is & more sette by. In somoch that where they ought to fere you for they: mysdoedes: they transpose that feare vnto you / and cause you by your cowardpse to feare and drede them: whiche are conioyned all togpyder agaynst you i one maner desyre of yll / in one maner couetpse / in one hatredte of good / and in one maner fere of your auancement: but among good men to be all of one mynd: vnder this maner one nat withstandinge an other it is to be counted for ampte and frendshyppe. Amonge yll men suche agreyng of maners is but a knotte of disorde and causeth sedycion / variaunce / and debate. But verily if ye had so great desyre and care to recouer your lyberte (whiche is lost) as they haue to encrease they: lordshyppe: than shulde nat the comenwele be oppressed and wasted as it is now: and than shulde the offices / maistershyppes / and dignitees of Rome (whiche at your benefites to gyue where lyketh you) be in the handes of good & vertuous men / and nat in the haodes of bold boasters and iniust men confederate in myschefe. The comenwele of Rome your forefathers befoze this tyme haue armed themselves and forsaken the senato's two sondry tymes & kepe themselves togpyder vpon the hyll of Iduentyne / onely bycause the wold haue a lawe decreed & enacted for them: And maisters of officers elect for them whiche shulde be they: protectours agaynst the iniury and extorcion of the estates whan nebe shulde requyre / whiche thyng at last was graunted to them and many other lyberties also. Than shulde nat ye labour moche more withall your myght for conseruacion of the same lyberties whiche they haue left vnto you as hole as euer they had them: And specially for this cause ought ye to defende your priuileges for that it is more shame and rebuke to lese the priuilege and lybertie gotten than neuer to haue optayned them: And specially what shame is it to you nothyng to augment nor encrease that authorite / whiche your elders & forefathers haue left to you: but to suffre y same by your cowardpse by lytell and lytell to decay: and at laste utterly to be losse and come to nought. But any of you may than requyre of me what is your Iugurth.

C. lii.

Pars occidisse tribunos plebis: alij questiones iustas: plerique sedem in vos fecisse pro munimen- to habent.

Itaque quum quisque pessime fecit: tam maxime tutus est: metu a scelere suo ad ignauiam vestram transulere: quos omnis eadem cupere: eadem odire: eadem metuere in vnum coegit. Sed haec inter bonos amicitia: inter malos factio est.

Q: si tantam vos curam libertatis haberetis: quum illi ad dominationem accensunt: profecto neque res publica (sicuti nunc) vastaretur: et beneficia vestra penes optimos non audacissimos forent.

Maiores vestri parandi iuris et maiestatis constitutende gratia: per secessionem armatis: bis Auentinum montem occupauerunt: vos pro libertate quam ab illis accepistis: nonne summa ope nitimini: atque vehementius quam maius dedecus est parta amittere: quum omnino non parauissetis.

Dicet aliquis: quid igitur



## The batayle

centes? vindicandum in  
eos: qui hosti prodidere  
tempu: non manu neque  
vi: quod magis vobis le-  
uisset: q̄ illis accidisse in-  
dignum est.)

Verum questionib⁹ et in-  
dicio ipsius Iugurth⁹: qui  
si deditus est: profecto ius-  
tis vestris obediens erit.

Sine ea cōtemnit: scilicet  
existimabit⁹ qualis illa  
pax aut deditio sit: ex  
qua ad Iugurtham sceles-  
rum impunitas: ad pau-  
cos potentes maxime dis-  
uitie: ad tempu. damna  
atque dedecora peruene-  
rint. Nisi fore non dū eti-  
am vos diuisionis eorum  
satietas tenet: et illa q̄  
hæc tempora magis pla-  
cent: cum regna / prouin-  
cie / leges / iura / iudicia /  
bella / atque paces: postre-  
mo diuina & humana om-  
nia penes paucos erant.  
Vos autem inuicti ab ho-  
stibus imperatores omni-  
um gentium satis habe-  
batis animam retinere.

Nam seruitutem quidem  
quis vestrum recusare au-  
debat⁹.

At ego tamen si virum fla-  
gitiosum existimo: ipse  
iniuriā accepisse: tñ vos  
hoibus sceleratissimis i-  
gnoscere: qm̄ ciues sunt:  
equo aio paterer: ni mia i  
perniciem casura esset.

Nam et illis: quantū im-  
portunitatis habent: pa-  
rum est: impune male fe-  
cisse: nisi faciendi licen-  
tia deinde eripiat⁹.

mynde: what wyl ye that we do? I wyl forsothe and counsell  
that punishment be taken vpon them whiche haue betrayed  
the honour of the common wele vnto your enemy Iugurth/  
without aduylse of the senato's or of the cōmenty: but this my  
counsell is nat to punish the them violently with your power in  
batayle / for certesse that were moze dyshonoure vnto you to  
do than to them to suffre the same. Nat withstandyng that  
they be worthy so to be delt withall. But this thyng may be  
best done by inqysition / examination and cōfession of Ju-  
gurth hymselfe / and by his accusacion of these treatours / whi-  
che Iugurth surely wyl be obedient to come hyther to Rome  
at your cōmaūdemēt if it be true that he hath yeldeb hymselfe.  
But if he dyspise your commaūdementes than may ye well  
thynke and cōsyder what peace or yelodyng he hath made by  
the which yelodyng he is vnpunished and pardoned of his de-  
testable and shamefull dedes / and these estates laded with ri-  
chesse and treasure. But cur cite and welthe of the cōmenty  
is come to losse / dammage / and vtter shame and diswoylhpy.  
Thus must ye do / suche examinacions must ye make with-  
out ye thynke that these great men haue nat yet sufficiēt lord-  
shyppe and power in theyr handes or els without ye shewe  
outwarde that ye were better pleased and content with that  
season whan kyngdomes / prouinces / iustices / lawes / iuge-  
mentes / batayle / peace / and finally euery thyng bothe diuine  
and humayne were in handes of a fewe estates. Than ye be  
nowe pleased with the season & tyme that now is whan your  
lybertie is gguen to you whiche ye are able to mayntayne if  
ye so be disposed. But in that season passed / howebeit ye were  
vnouercome of your ennemites / maisters / & emperours ouer  
the most part of the worlde: yet had ye ynough to do to defens-  
de your owne lyfe from the cruelty of these fewe mighty men.  
For of you all who was so bolde to withstāde their subiection  
& bōdage. Wherfoze if ye entendi to endure & suffre the destru-  
ction of your libertie as ye begyn thā truly & tyme which is  
to come shalbe moch moze cruell to you than the tyme passed.  
But as for me nat withstādyng that I vnderstande the great  
offence and abhominable of this wycked Iugurth is suffred  
vnpunished: yet wolde I suffre patiently that ye shulde for-  
goue & pardon the wicked doers of this dede men most vngra-  
tious bycause they be citezins. If it were nat so: that such mer-  
cy and forgyuenes shuld tourne to our destruction & ruine of  
our empire. For ye may se howe great oportunitie and suffe-  
rance they haue in somoche that they count but a small thyng  
to do unhappely without punishment. Wherfoze they nowe  
daylpencease theyr cruelty agaynst you / if ye do nat heraf

ter take from them the power & authorize therof. And specially cōtinuall busynes without ende shall remayne vnto you whā ye se playnly that outhet ye must be seruantes oꝝ bondemen: oꝝ els ye must retayne and defende your libertie by strength of your handes. For what hope oꝝ trust is there of faithfulness oꝝ of concord bytweene you and them? None surely. For their mynde is bitterly set to be lordes ouer you: and ye on the other part wyl nedes be free and at libertie. They be extremely inclined and disposed to do wrong and iniury vnto you. And ye labour to withstande the bitterly. And briefly to speke they take the frendes and felowes of our empire for enemies. But our mortall enemies they take for theyr felowes & frendes. But ye wolde withstande this cursed & unkynde behauour. Wherfore can ye suppose that peace / loue / oꝝ frendshyppe can be among people so contrary of myndes & disposicion. For these cōsideraciōs I warne & exhort you that ye suffrenat so great myschefe to escape unpunished. This offence is nothyng like to the robbing of the cōmon treasour / noꝝ to þe spoyling of money by extorcion fro the felowes & frendes of our empire. Which dedes (howbeit they be greuous & in maner intollerable) neuertheles by custōe & vse of the same they are reputed for small fautes & for nought. But this dede is moche moze greuous and bitterly intollerable. For the authorize of the senate is betrayed to our most cruell and fierse enemy Jugurth / your empire is falsly betrayed to other mennes handes and possession. The cōmen wele hath ben put to sale to Jugurth by þe senator's bothe at home in our cite / and also in our army by Calphurnius the cōsull: In somoch that if examnacion be nat made herof: and if they be nat punished which be culpable & faultie herin. What thyng shall remayne vnto vs but that we must passe our lyfe vnder obedience and bondage of them which thus haue done / and vs shall they kepe in subiection as yf they were kynges. For what thyng longeth to a kyng / saue to parfourme his wyl and pleasur / be it good oꝝ yll without any respytence oꝝ punishment of any man. Do nat these estates thus wout any cōtradiction / nat withstanding that it is in your power to withstande the if ye wyl. No: certes woz thy citezins I do nat thus exhort you to coueyt rather that your citezins shulde do yll than well. But I speke to thynke that ye shulde nat so fauour & forbere a fewe iniust & yll disposed men: that the better destruction of all good men shulde procede of suche indiscrete fauour: And also namely in a cite oꝝ a cōmen wayle it is moche better and moze tollerable to forgo the rewarde of good dedes / than the punishment of yll dedes. For a good man seynge his goodnes nat rewarded noꝝ let by

Et vobis eterna sollicitudo remanebit: quum intelligitis aut seruendū esse aut per manus libertatem retinendam.

Nam fidei quidē aut concordie quæ spes est?

Dicit illi volunt: vos libertate: facere illi iniuriā: vos prohibere: potestremo socijs nostris veluti hostibus: hostibus pro socijs vruntur: potest ne in tam diuersis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse?

Quare monco horroꝝ vos ne tantum scelus impunitum omittatis. Non peculatus erari factus est: neque per vim socijs erepte pecunieque, q̄ q̄ graua sunt, tamen ex consuetudine iam pro minus habentur.

Hosti acerrimo prodita senatus authoritas: proditum imperium vstrum est: domi militieque res publica venalis fuit: que nisi quesita erunt: et nisi vindicatum in noxios: quid erit reliquū nisi vt illis obedientes viuamus: quia fecerunt? Nā impune quodlibet agere: id est regem esse.

Neque vos quiritis horroꝝ vt malitis ciues vestros pperā q̄ recte fecerunt: sed ne ignoscendo malis bonos peditum eatis.

Ad hoc in republica multis prestat beneficij q̄ maleficij immemorem esset: bonus fit tantūmodo senior vbi negligas: ac



## The batayle

malus improbius: ad hoc  
si iniurie non sint: haud  
sepe auxilij egeas.

he dothe but onely withdraue his owne kyndnes: but an yll  
man nat punysshed/ is the moze holden & cursed: And mozeouer  
if such as be mysdoers be punysshed/ at the last theyr nombre  
shalbe abated & decreased/ and if there be fewe vniust men / the  
lesse wrong is done. And he to whome no wronge is done ne  
deth nat to call for socour nor helpe. Thus it is better to leaue  
a good dede unrewarded/ than an yll dede vnpunysshed.

**C**howe Memmius induced the people of Ro-  
me by the sayd orison: so that Cassius was sent  
for Jugurthe to brynge hym to Rome to declare  
and accuse the supporters of his dedes.

### The .xx. chapyter.

**H**ec atque alia huius  
cemodi sepe dicen-  
do Memmius popu-  
lo psuadet vt Lucius Cas-  
sius qui tum pretor erat  
ad Iugurtham mitteret:  
eumq; interposita fide pu-  
blica Romam duceret: quo  
facili idicio regis Scau-  
ri et reliquorum quos pe-  
cunie capte arcessebat de-  
licta patiscerent.



**A**Emmius counsellyng & inducynge  
often tymes by these wordes and other lyke  
at last dyde somoch that Lucius Cassius/  
one of the chiefe .x. iudges of Rome shuld be  
sende to Jugurth & assure hym of his lyfe/  
and to come & retourne in saue garde vpon  
promies and sayth of all the hole comenty of  
Rome. And vpon this promies to brynge hym to Rome to thin-  
ken that by his owne wordes and confession of the treuth/ the  
fallshode & couetyse of Calphurnius the consull/ of Scaurus  
& of other whiche had ben corrupted by hym befoze by money  
and rewardes myght be euidently proued & knowen.

**O**f the behauour of the soudyours and other  
whiche were last in Numidy whyle Scaurus  
the consull was at Rome. **The .xxi. chap.**

**D**um hæc Rome gerū  
tur: qui in Numidia  
relicti a Bestia exer-  
citus præerant: sequuti  
morem imperatoris sui  
plurima & flagitiosissima  
facere facinora. fuere qui  
aut corrupti elephan-  
tos Iugurthæ traderent.  
Alij perfugas venderent:  
pars expacatis predas a-  
gebant. Tanta vis auari-  
cie animos eorum veluti  
rabes inuaserat.



**W**hyle these thynges were in hand and  
done at Rome/ in meane tyme the chiefe of þe sou-  
dyours / whiche Calphurnius had lefte behynd  
hym in Numidy folowed the maners and beha-  
uour of theyr captayne & dyde many vngoodly  
and myscheuous dedes. Some of them were so corrupt with  
golde that they delpyerd agayne to Jugurth the olyphantes/  
whiche he had gyuen to Calphurnius what tyme þe peace was  
graunted and trues/ first taken bytweene them. Some other  
solde to Jugurth the traytours whiche had fledde from hym  
vnto the romayns army: And other some spoyled & robbed  
the people of Numidy / whiche had all redy peace with the

Romayns/and had yelded themselfe. So great & shamefull was the violence of couetpse which had infected theyr myndes as if it had ben an vniuersall contagion of pestilence. But now we will I retorne to my mater where I left before concerning Cassius the iudge and his vyage to Numidy for to bryng Jugurth vnto Rome.

Howe Jugurth came to Rome with Cassius and howe he behaued hymselfe there.

The xxii. chapyter.



**C**aius Memmius in name of all the comens gaue comaundement to Cassius (accorpyng to the ordinance enacted) to spede hym toward Numidy/and to bydde Jugurth come to Rome vnder suerte & condicion before reherfed. Whan the estates whiche knewe the selfe culpable vnderstande of this they were maruelously abashed. But whan Cassius was come to Jugurth/nat withstandyng that he was careful of his part/and had no confidence in his cause for asmoche as he knewe hymselfe faulty in his owne conscience: yet Cassius aduysed hym and induced hym: bycause he had yelded hymselfe to come vnto Rome: without he wolde rather proue the Romayns strength and violence than theyr mercy and ppyte: and mozeouer the sayd Cassius promysed also his owne fayth and trouth that if he wolde come to Rome and answer truly to all suche thynges as there shulde be demaunded of hym: he shulde safely go and come without any impediment. Cassius had so good a name at that tyme that Jugurth had asmoche confidence in his fayth & promys alone as in the promys or assurance of the hole cite. And so at last Jugurth consented to go to Rome with Cassius. Wherefore to enduce the romayns to the moze ppyte he atayed hymselfe in rude aparell agaynst his honour to all moche byle and mysfable: and so with Cassius came to Rome nat as a kyng: but poorly and with a small company. And nat withstandyng that his mynde was moche confirmed/assured/and bolded: by the confort of them whiche he had corrupted with rewardes before/ vnder whose defence & suppoztacion he had comytted so moche cruelty: yet he behaued hym so with his gyftes of newe assone as he was come to Rome/that by his great reward he induced a lord of Rome named Caius Bebius/one of the ptectours of the comenry to be suppozter & mayntener of his cause among the other mo,

**A**T Cassius perlata rogatione a Cajo Memmio ac perculsa omni nobilitate ad Jugurtham proficiscitur: ei que timido et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis persuadet (quoniam se populo romano dedisset) ne vim quam misericordiam experiri mallet.

Priuatim preterea fidem suam interponit/qua iominoris quam publicam dicebat.

Talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat.

Jugurtha contra decus regum/cultu qui maxime miserabilis/et Cajo Romano venit. Ac tamen in ipso magna vis animie erat confirmata ab omnibus quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta eagefferat: que supra diximus: Cajo tamen Bebio tribuni plebis/magna mercede parat/cuius impudentia contra ius et iniurias omnes munitus foret.



## The batayle

At Caius Memmius ad-  
uocata concione ( q̄q̄ re-  
gi infesta plebs erat: et  
pars in vincula duci ius-  
beret: pars vero in socios  
sceleris aperiret: more  
maiorum de hoste suppli-  
cium sumi dignitati mas-  
gis q̄ ire consulens: seda-  
re motuset animos eorū  
mollire postremo confir-  
mare fidem publicam per  
sefe inuiolatam fore.

Post vbi silentium cepit/  
producto Iugurtha/ver-  
ba facit. Rome Numidia  
q̄ facinora eius memorat/  
scelera in patrē fratres  
que ostēdit: et quibus in-  
uantibus quibusque mi-  
nistris ea egerit: q̄q̄ intel-  
ligit populus Romanus:  
tamen se velle manifeste  
magis ex illo habere: si  
verum aperiat: in fide et  
clemētia populi romani  
magnam spem illi sitam.

Sin reticeat: non saluti  
focijs fore: sefe et suas os  
pes corrupturum.  
Deinde vbi Mēmi⁹ dicēs  
di finem fecit / et Iugur-  
tha iussus est respondere:  
Caius Bebius ( quē pecu-  
nia corruptum supra di-  
ximus ) regem tacere ius-  
bet: ac tamen si multus  
do quā in cōcione aderat  
vehementer accensū ter-  
rebat eū clathore vultus  
que: sepe impetu: atq; a-  
lijs omnibusque ira fieri  
amat: Vicit tū Bebij im-

By whose dishonest & vnmesurable couetise he trustedd assu-  
redly to be defended/agaynst lawe/from all punysshmentes  
due vnto his demerites. But the cōmenty of Rome was blos-  
sently and soze wraethe agaynst Iugurth/ some cōmaunded to  
haue hym to prison & there to kepe hym in bandes: And other  
some wolde that acorpyng to the lawe punysshment of derbe  
shulde by taken of hym as of they? moztall ennemy/ if he wold  
nat shorly cōfesse & discouer the felowes/partiners/& suppoz-  
ters of his cruell dedes. Caius Memmius heyrng herof called  
to gyder the cōmenty and alayed the moey on & wraeth of they?  
myndes apeasyng they? vnaupsed rancour. And requirynge  
them to kepe the fayth & trouth of the cite ( which they had pro-  
myssed to Iugurthe ) clere inuolate and vndefyled. Thus  
dyd Memmius exhort them as he which moze regarded & set  
moze by the conseruacion of the dignite of Rome / than by the  
parfourmyng and satisfyng the wraeth & ire of the rude cō-  
mens. But whan sylence was made among all the assemble:  
anone Iugurth was brough forth before them all. Memmi⁹  
than began to speke to hym demutely rehercyng and openly  
recountyng how he had corrupt the estates of Rome with his  
treasure/and cruelly agaynst ryght had done many abhomy-  
nable dedes at Rome/and also in Numidy agaynst the kyng  
Micipsa and his sonnes/as Mayne Oberhall and Dierpsall  
falsly dysceyued the kyng Micipsa: and wasted þ kyngdome  
of Numidy. And howbeit (sayd Memmius) that the Ro-  
mapns knewe well his suppozters yet they wold most of all  
that Iugurth shulde openly discouer & accuse them hymselfe.  
Wherfoze he despyred hym truly to cōfesse the names of them  
by whose suppoztacion he was so bolde to cōmyt so many imo-  
derate & cruell dedes. Sayng that if he wold so do & cōfesse &  
disclose the trouth than myght he haue great trust and confy-  
dence in þ fayour/clemēce/and mercy of the people of Rome.  
But if he wold nat so do/he shulde dono profet by his sylence  
to the noble men of Rome which had suppozted hym: And also  
he shulde be dysstruction and vndoing of hymselfe/and of his  
ryches also. On this poynt Memmi⁹ ceassed his wordes and  
helde hym still. Anone Iugurth was cōmaūded of the com-  
mente to make answere. But whan he was redy to haue spo-  
ken Caius Bebius whome he had corrupted with treasour  
(as I haue made mencion befoze) commaūded hym to hold  
his pease. In somoche that howbeit the people soze moued  
with displeasure put hym in feare with exclamacon agaynst  
hym with angry countenances: and often violently rennyng  
vpon hym / and with other tokens of pye and dyspleasure.  
Neuerthelesse for all this the frowarde counsell of Bebius

ouercame they: thretyng / in somoche that Jugurth wolde nothyng speke no: dysclose. And thus the people had in derision & abused/deperted from the cōgregation and assemble. So the myndes of Jugurthe / of Calphurnius / and of other they: partyners were than inhaned & increased in boldnesse: whiche were troubled and moche ferefull befoze/whan Jugurth was first sende fo: and brought to be examined.

**C**how Jugurth encreased his crueltie at Rome and renued his murdye in sleayng an other noble man of the stocke of Dicipla by occasion wherof he was constrayned to departe from Rome / and the batayle renewed agayne of hole.

**C**The. xxiij. chapyter.



**A**t the same season was a gentles man at Rome named Massia / bozne of the countrey of Numidy / whiche was the sonne of Galussa / & neuwe to y good kyng Massinissa. This Massia was agaynst Jugurth in the stryfe & discecion bytwene Adherball & hym / whan the towne of Cirtha was pelded and Adherball slayne. Wherefoze he trusted nat Jugurth / but to saue hymselfe fled from Numidy vnto Rome. Nowe was a lorde at Rome named Albinus / whiche was creat consull with an other partypng felowe named Minutius / the next yere after Calphurnius. This Albinus came to Massia and coulsapled hym (bycause he was of the stocke of Massinissa) to greue Jugurth / as moch as he coude / with enuy / feare / and displeasure fo: his offences & cruelte: And by petition to desyre of the senatours the administracion of the kyngdome of Numidy. Albinus gaue to hym this counsell / fo: as moch as he hymselfe was desyrus of batayle. Wherefoze he wold moch rather that euery thyng wey moued with trouble / than pacified o: at rest. Than was a custome at Rome / that the consull shulde haue a partypng felow / & bytwene them the prouinces belongyng to Rome shulde be deuided. Thus in departyng of the prouinces / the countrey of Numidy fell to Albinus / and the countrey of Macidony to his felowe Minutius. Shortly after Massia began to moue the mater to the senatours touchyng administracion of the kyngdome of Numidy. Jugurth hering of this had nat so great trust i his mater no: to his frendes as he had befoze: fo: some of them with dyue they: selfe fo: knowlege of they: fautes / and other

pudentia. Itaq; populus ludibrio habitus ex conatione discessit.

Jugurthæ / Bestieq; et cæteris quos illa questio exagitabat ai augefcunt,

**E**Rat ea tēpestare Romæ Numida quidam nomine Massia filius Galussæ: nepos Massinissæ: qui (quia in dissensione regum Jugurthæ aduersus fuerat) dedita Cirthæ et Adherbale interfecto profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Spurius Albinus qui proximo anno post bestiam cum quinto Minutio Ruffo cōsulatū gerebat: psuadet: quoniam eam stirpe Massinissæ sit Jugurtham ob scelera inuidia cū metu vrgeat: regnum Numidiæ a senatu petat. audis consul beligerundi moueri q̄ senescere omnia malebat,

Ipsi prouincia Numidia Minutio Macedonia obuēnit. Que postq̄ Massia uagitare cepit: neq; Jugurthæ in amicis satis p̄sidi est (quia eorum aliū conscientia: aliū mala fama et timor impedi-



## The batayle

bat) Bomilchari proxio  
ac maxime fido sibi impe  
rat ut precio ( sicuti mul  
ta consecerat ) in fidiato  
res Malliue parer: ac ma  
xime occulte: in id parū  
procedat: quous modo  
Numidam interficiat.  
Bomilchar mature regis  
mandata exequitur pho  
mines talis negocij artis  
fices: itinera / egressusq;  
eius / postremo loca / atq;  
tempora explorat. Dein  
de ubi res postulabat: in  
sidias tetendit. Igitur vnus  
ex eo numero qui ad ces  
dem parati erant: paulo  
incō ultius Malliua ag  
greditur: illūque obtrun  
cat. Sed ipse deprehensus  
multis hortatibus, et in  
primis Albino consule in  
dicium proficitur. Fit re  
us magis ex equo et bo  
no q̄ ex iure gentium Bos  
milchar comes eius qui  
Romā fide pu. venerat.

At Jugurtha manifestus  
tanti sceleris non prius  
omisit contra verum nē  
ti / q̄ anima duertit supra  
gratiam ac pecuniam suā  
am inuidiam lactelle.

Igitur q̄q̄ in priori actio  
ne ex amicis quinquagin  
ta vades dederat: regno  
magis q̄ vadibus consus  
lens: etiam in Numidiam  
dimittit Bomilcharē ve  
ritus ne reliquos popula  
res metus inuaderet pa  
rendi sibi: si de illo sup  
plicium sumptum foret.

Et ipse paucis diebus eo  
profectus est: iussus a se  
natu Italiā discedere.

Sed postq̄ Roma egressus

come for feare of yll name and fame or rumour of the people.  
Wherfoze Jugurth consydering this requyred Bomilchar /  
one of his most net: & trusty frendes to prouide and to hyer  
by gyftes & rewardes a cōpany to sle the sayd Malliua / and  
that as priuely as coude be done. But if it coude nat priuely be  
done than to sle hym openly by one meane or other Bomil  
char shortly went about the cōmaundement of Jugurth / and  
anone prouided men & hyed suche as were mete for suche a  
dede: and cōmaunded them to espy and serche his wayes / his  
goynges & cōpyngs / and to wayet a season & place cōuenient  
to parforme theyr enterpryse. But afterwarde whan he sawe  
his tyme he prepared to execute this treason. Wherfoze one of  
them which were ordayned & assigned to this murdre / assay  
led Malliua rashely / with small prouisyon or auysement / &  
slew hym vnware. But he whiche dyde the dede anone was  
taken & brought before the iudges. The people in great nom  
bre despyred & at last cōstrayned hym to tell by whose cōsell he  
dyd that myscheuous dede / and specially Albinus the consull  
coarted hym thereto. The murderer anone cōfessed the treuthe  
and declared howe he had done it at the instigacion & counsel  
of Bomilchar: And nat withstādyng that the same Bomil  
char came to Rome / vnder the sauegarde & assurance of the  
fayth of the commente as dyd Jugurth / yet he was iudged  
gyltie of the dede / cōsideryng that he was cōselloure thereto /  
and nat accor dyng to the common lawe. but after very equite  
and good cōscience. But Jugurth cōsyderyng hymselfe cul  
pable in the same faute / yet wolde by no meane confesse nor  
knowlege hymselfe fautie / tyll tyme that he vnderstode and  
sawe that the enuy and displeasure which was taken agaynst  
this dede passed all his fauoure and rewardes whiche he had  
gyuen at Rome / so y at last in his gyftes he foude no socoures  
nor arde. But howebeit in the first accion or accusēmet which  
was layed agaynst hym / he had brought in & layd. l. suerties  
of his frendes for hym & all other of his retyne that he shulde  
purge hymselfe of euery thyng which nas or shulde be layed  
agaynst hym / yet thought he better to prouide for the protec  
cion of his kyngdome than for the helth of his pledges or  
suerties. And this cōsydzyng he priuely sent Bomilchar away  
from Rome vnto Numidy / dyedpyng that if condyng and  
wozthy punishment were taken of Bomilchar at Rome /  
lest the other commētie of his realme at home wolde dede  
to be obedient to hym. And anone after Bomilchar was de  
parted Jugurth hymselfe fledde also from Rome after hym  
commaunded of the senatours to depart from Italy as enne  
my to the romayns & theyr empyre. But whan he was depar  
ted a lytell

ted a lytell without Rome: it is sayde that he loked often  
backwarde behynde hym spekyng secretly to hymselfe: but  
at the last he spake playnly in audience that they whiche were  
assystent myght here hym and sayd. O noble and famous ci-  
tie corrupt and accloyed with infect citezens/ whole couetyse  
is so insatiable that they wyl profer the forth to sale/ & shortly  
thou shuldest be solde and peryshe/ if thy rulers coude fynde  
any man that wolde bye the/ and gyue money for the.

Howe Albynus consull of Rome renewed the  
warre agayng Jugurthe/ and at last returned a-  
gayne to Rome leauynge his brother Aulus in  
Numidy/ with the army in his towne.

The. xxiij. chapyter.



In the mean season Albinus whi-  
che was create consull next after Calphur-  
nius renewed the warre agaynst Jugurth  
and wout tarpeng: causeth bytaxis/ wags  
and all other thynges necessary/ expediēt/  
and belongynge to souldyours: to be con-  
ueyed speedely into Affricke. And he anone  
hym selfe in all hast toke his byage thpyderwarde also/ and so  
forth to Numidy. In which byage he made more hasty expe-  
dition to thintent to fynishe the warre with Jugurth/ other  
by force of armes/ or els cōstrayning hym to yelde hymselfe/ or  
by some other meanes what so eyer myght be founde namely  
before the tyme of election of newe consuls/ whiche tyme was  
nat longe to come. But contrarywyle Jugurth prolonged  
euery thyng by one cause or other. As fast as Albinus went  
forwarde/ so fast Jugurth founde impedimentes/ somtyme  
he promysed to yelde hymselfe/ and somtyme sayned hymselfe  
afrayed. One whyle he fled from the army of Albinus whan  
it was nere hande to hym: And anone after lest his men shuld  
mystrust by dysconfort or dyspayre/ he boldely withstode and  
defended hymselfe manly. And thus in prolongyng the tyme:  
somtyme with warre and somtyme with peace/ he abused and  
mocked the consull/ wherfore some were which suspected that  
Albinus was nat ignorant of the counsell of Jugurth/ but cō-  
sentyng to hym by fauoure: And for asmoche as at the begyn-  
nyng he was so fiers/ hasty/ and diligent: it was suspected  
that he droue forth the tyme nowe rather by craft than cowar-  
dyse. But after the tyme was passed and the day of election of  
newe consules approched & came fast on. The consull Albinus  
Jugurth.

f. i.

est fertur sepe tacitus res-  
piciens, postremo dixit  
urbem venalem/ et matu-  
re perituram: si emptore  
inuenerit.

Interim Albinus reno-  
uato bello/ cōmeatum/  
stipendiū/ aliaque qua  
militibus vsui forent: ma-  
turat in Aphricā portare:  
ac statim ipse profectus  
est/ vti ante comitia (qđ  
tempus haud longe abe-  
rat armis aut deditionē  
aut quouis modo bellum  
conficeret.

At contra Jugurtha tra-  
here omnia: et alias dein-  
de alias causas more fa-  
cere: polliceri deditionē/  
ac deinde metum simul a-  
re: cedere instanti et pau-  
lo post (ne sui dissiderēt)  
instare: ita belli modo:  
modo pacis mora/ consu-  
lem ludificare.

At fuere/ qui tum Albinū  
haud ignarum cōsilij re-  
gis existimarent.  
Neque ex tantā properā-  
tia: tam facile tractū bel-  
lum secordia magis qđ do-  
lo crederent. Sed postqđ  
dilapso tempore/ comiti-  
orum dies aduentabat:



Albinus/Aulo fratre in ca-  
stris pro p̄tore relicto Ro-  
mā discessit.

**E**A tempestate Romæ  
seditionibus tribuni-  
tius atrociter respu. a-  
gitabatur. Publius Lu-  
cullus/Lucius Annus tri-  
buni plebis/resistentibus  
collegis/cōtinuare magis-  
tratum nitebantur.

Quæ dissensio totius an-  
ni cōmitia impediēbat,

Ea mora in spem adduc-  
tus Aulus quem pro pre-  
tore in castris relicto su-  
pra diximus) aut confici-  
endi belli gratia: aut ter-  
rore exercitus ab rege pec-  
cunie capiunde / milites  
mense Ianuario ex taber-  
naculis in expeditionem  
euocat: magnisq; itineri-  
bus hyeme aspera perue-  
nit ad oppidū Suthul/vbi  
regis thesauri erant.

Quod q̄q; et seuitia tem-  
poris et oportunitate lo-  
ci neque capi neque obli-  
deri poterat (nam circa  
murum situm in prerupti  
montis extremo planicie  
es limosa hyemalibus a-  
quis paludem fecerat) tñ  
aut similandi gratia quo

## The batayle

ordayned his brother named Aulus/to remayne in his strede  
as captayne and ruler in the army: and he hymselfe departed  
toward Rome / to be at election of the newe consuls / as the  
lawe requyred.

**How Aulus and the romayne army were dis-  
comfyted of Jugurth: and howe peace was grafi-  
ted to hym by Aulus: and to what shame the Ro-  
mayns were put by rascallye folye of the same ca-  
pytaine Aulus. The. xxv. chapyter.**



**A**T the same season was the com-  
men wayle at Rome moche troubled with  
bariaunce and debate/betwene the prote-  
ctours of the commentie. For of them one  
named Lucullus and an other Annus la-  
boured to contynue and kepe still their offi-  
ce and agaynst the ordynaunce of the lawe  
to contynue more than one yere. Wherfore the other whiche  
were pyngfelowes i office with them laboured with all their  
wyght the contrary to resyst them and to mayntayne the olde  
constitution/ordynaunce and custome. This dyscencion and  
debate letted the election of the newe consuls all that yere. Au-  
lus whom Albinus had left with the army in Numidy as his  
lewtenant herd of this prolongyng of the tyme: was brought  
in great hope to wynde great honour or treasure. Wherfore  
in the colde moneth of January he called the souldyours forth  
of their tentes to erecute the batayle with Jugurth without  
more delay. Outher wyde he thus shortly to make an ende of  
the batayle in his tyme/and thereby to wynde honour or els  
with his army to put Jugurth in feare (so that to haue peace)  
he shulde redeme the same of Aulus with great treasure.  
Aulus concludynge on this purpose/spedde hym so fast with  
his souldyours makynge dayly great iournayes (nat withsta-  
ndyng the sharpnesse of wynter) that at last he came to a towne  
in Numidy named Suthull: in whiche towne the treasures  
of Jugurth were layed. This towne with walles/waters/  
and mountaynes of nature was strongly defended: for with-  
out the walles buylded on the heryght of a mountaygne bro-  
ken on the forefront was a great playne fenne/or marryse  
grounde: all ouercouered with mudde/and standyng wynter  
water. In somoche that what for the sharpnesse of the wynter  
season: and what for naturall defence of the place / this towne  
coude by no meanes bewell besyged nor taken: yet this nat w-

standyng Julius to encrease fere to Jugurth/and for the blyn-  
de desyre which he had to wyne the towne in maner of dissi-  
mulation assayed the same and made pauaples about the  
walles of sheldes conioyned lyke bynes/ wherunder his men  
myght fyght with lesse dammage oꝝ paryll. Than made he  
a dyche oꝝ trenche rounde about the towne with great hepes  
of erth casten vpon the sydes of the same/ to the entent that no  
socoꝝr shulde entre into them/ noꝝ they escape forth at theyꝝ  
pleasurs. And finally he made redy euery thyng whiche be-  
longed oꝝ was necessary to besegnyng of suche a towne. But  
Jugurth anone perceyued the bayne and falshe behauoure  
of Julius / and craftely encreased by polsey the madnes of  
hym/ sending often embassadours vnto hym to requyre in de-  
rysion that he wolde desyst and leue besyginge of the towne/  
and intreatyng hym of peace mekely. But in the meane tyme  
Jugurth hymselfe in maner as yf he wolde nat intermell with  
Julius/ ledde his army by wodes/ forrestes/ by streat passages/  
by hyls & dales/ and by barways: causynge Julius to suspect  
that he was a dradde of hym: And finally he enduced Julius  
to truste after some apointment. And thus Jugurth with  
his men slepyng alway into desertes and hydde places gaue  
confoꝝt to Julius and encreased his coꝝrage by such auoyding.  
In somoch that at last Julius gaue vp the segnyng of the tow-  
ne of Suthull: And with his hole power hastely pursued Ju-  
gurth as slepyng from hym for drede into places vnknewen  
to hym and his men. Thus was the treason of Jugurth moꝝe  
hydde from Julius/ wherfoꝝe he made the lesse prouision ther-  
foꝝe. In the meane season Jugurth by subtyll messangers  
attempted the romayne army day and nyght inducyng them  
to consent to betray theyꝝ felowes/ the capytayns/ and vnder-  
capytayns: anone for lucre consented to hym. Some in tyme  
of batayle to forsake and betray theyꝝ owne company and to  
fyght on the part of Jugurth. And other whiche wolde nat  
graūt to so foule a dede/ as to fyght agaynst theyꝝ owne com-  
pany / he exhorted and induced them whan the trumpettes  
shulde blowe to batayle to leue theyꝝ places & array: And de-  
part from theyꝝ company without stroke on one syde oꝝ other.  
Whan euery thyng was brought to his purpose and accoꝝ-  
ded to his requestes: Than about mydnyght he stole pryncely  
towarde the tentes of the romayns: and sodenly with a great  
company of Numidyans / compassed them about on euery  
syde and assayed them fierly. The romayne souldyours  
whiche were with Julius/ thus vnwarly inuaded: were met-  
uelously abashed and amased / for y vnwont & sodayn feare  
of this treason. Some of the most noble herres: with great  
Jugurth.

f. ii.

regi formidinē adderet:  
aut cupidine cecus opidi  
potiundi: vineas agere:  
aggerem facere: aliaque  
quæ incepto vsui forent  
preparare.

At Jugurtha cognita va-  
nitate atque impitia le-  
gati/ subdole eius augere  
amētia/ militare suppli-  
cantes legatos: Ipse quas  
si vitabundus p saltuosa  
loca et tramites exercitū  
ducere.

Denique Aulum spe pa-  
ctiois pepulit: vti Suthu-  
le relicto/ in abditas regi-  
ones sese veluti redētem  
insequeretur.

Ita delicta occultiora fa-  
cere.

Interea Jugurtha per ho-  
mines callidos die noctu-  
que exercitum tentabat:  
centuriones/ ducesq: tur-  
marum partim/ vti trans-  
fugerēt corrumpere: alij/  
signo dato vti locum de-  
fererent.

Quæ postq̃ ex sentētia in-  
struxit/ intempesta nocte  
cum multitudine Numi-  
darum Auli castra circū-  
uenit.

Milites Romani percul-



## The batayle

in folito metu arma ca-  
pe: alij sefe abdere: pars  
territos confirmare: tre-  
pidare omnibus locis vis  
magna hostium:

calum nocte atque nubi-  
bus obscuratum: pericu-  
lum anceps.

Postremo fugere an ma-  
nere tuti<sup>9</sup> foret: inincer-  
to erat.

Sed ex eo numero: quos  
paulo ante corruptos di-  
ximus: cohors vna ligu-  
rum cum duabus turmis  
Tracum et paucis grega-  
rijs militibus transiere  
ad regem: et Ceterio pri-  
mipili tertie legionis p-  
munitione (quam vti de-  
fenderet acceperat) locū  
hostibus introeundi de-  
dit. Ea parte Numide  
cunctis irripere. Ex no-  
stris feda fuga: plerique  
abiectis armis, proximū  
collem occupauere. nox  
atque preda castrorū ho-  
stes quominus victoria  
vterentur remorata sūt.  
Deinde postero die Iugur-  
tha cū Aulo in colloquio  
verba facit: tametsi ipsū  
cum exercitu tame<sup>n</sup> ferro  
que clausum tenet: tamē  
dicit sememorem huma-  
natum rerum si secum fe-  
dus faceret: incolumes  
omnes sub iugum missu-  
rum: preterea vti decem  
diebus Numidia decede-  
rent.

courage drew to them they: harness and ressted they: enne-  
mies valyantly: fully assured and presyred to dye lyke men:  
yf fortune shulde graunt them none other meanes to escape  
that instant danger. Some other as cowarδες hydde them:  
selfe in caues & other secrete places yf they myght any fynde.  
The boldest and most bled to suche chaunces confortd they:  
felowes whiche were ferefull and vncerpert of suche chaunces  
of warre. How beit none of them all was so bolde no: so well  
assured of hymselfe / but that he was bothe in great drede and  
danger. And no matuayle / so: in euery place and on all sydes  
about them they were inuironed in compasse with great vio-  
lence & plentious nomb: of they: enemies hyd vnder dark-  
nes of the nyght and cloudes which bitterly obscured the ster-  
res lyght. They: paryll was indiscret and doutfull whyther  
they fled o: abode the batayle. For deth was instant and de-  
pended ouer they: heddes euery way: and other hope no: espe-  
raunce was none / saue deth ineuitable. So that finally it was  
vncertayne vnto them whether it was better o: more sure to  
fle o: to abyde to they: aucture. But of that company which  
Jugurth had corrupted with rewardes as we haue sayd be-  
foze / one bende o: cohort of lombardes and tow turmes that  
is to say. lx. thraciens and a fewe rude and comen soudyours  
betrayed the romayns and went ouer to Jugurth. Also the  
Centurion whiche was assigned to be captayne ouer them /  
whiche were comytted to fyght about the first standard of the  
thyrd legion drew hym and his company asyde and suffred  
they: enemies to entre into the myddes of the hoost on that  
syde which they had taken to defend. Thus all þ Numidyēs  
brake in on that syde without any respytence. And at conclus-  
sion the romayns had a foule flyght and a shamefull discon-  
fiture / in somoche that they trusted more to they: fete than to  
they: handes o: armour: And many of them to ren lyghter  
thye away they: armour and harness / and toke the top of an  
hyll whiche was nere therby and ther tarped. The company  
of Jugurth / what for spoylinge of the romayns tentes and  
darknes of the nyght had les honour of victorie and suffred  
many of the romayns to escape. On the next day after Ju-  
gurth and Aulus came to comunication togyder. Than sayd  
Jugurth to Aulus that nat withstandyng that he had hym &  
his army which were lett alpye sure ynough copassed and en-  
uironed with wepen & hunger so that they coude nat escape  
hym: and howe beit it was in his power to oppres hym & all  
his. Neuertheles he remembred well ynough the incertayn  
chances of mannes busynesse & wold nat be to hym cruell no:  
vncurtres so that he wold make w hym a bonde of peas and

no more contend agaynst hym in batayle/ on this condiction/ that all the souldyours of Julius shulde do obediace vnto hym and passe vnder a spere in token of subiectyon and so without more damage depart out of the countrey of Numidy within the space of .x. dayes next after. But how best this composition and condicions were hard/ greuous/ and full of shame & miserie: and worthy to be punished of the senators yf Julius agreed to them. But the lesse they myndes so wanted for drede of deeth that at last the composition & agreement was concluded & agreed at the wyll & pleasure of Jugurth vpon the sayd condicions.

What sozo we and heuyenes was at Rome: and how they demeaned themselves in the cite after that tydynges herof were brought thyder.

The. xvi. chapyter.

**W**hen the Romayns understode of this at Rome/ all the cite was fylled with drede/ sorrow/ lamentacion & mourning. Some bewailed the worshyp of the empire as lost by that shamefull composition: And other vncustomed to the busynesse of batayle & not knowinge nor cōspyring the variable mutabilitie of chaunces of warre feared the losse of their libertie/ of their cite/ and of all their empire. They all were mothe & bitterly displeased wth Julius cause of this subiectyon & shamefull composition. But namely they which had ben good warryours in their dayes were displeased with hym most of all: whan they cōspyred that he beinge armed & well apointed to batayle rather sought meanes to escape from deeth by suche shamefull & honde composition than manly abyding the extremite of batayle to haue despyered hymselfe & his company: or els valyantly to haue dyed with honouour. But the cōsull Albinus/ hymselfe dyed soze for this thyng/ cōspyring that for his brotheres faute in tyme to cōe he shuld nat auoyde the displeasure of the senators & cōmens of Rome. for as he considered all his brotheres dedes shuld reboude to his dishonour & paryll/ because he had lyttled hym in Numidy in his steed to be capteyne of the army in his absēce. Wherefore (these thynges duely aduysed) he went to the senators despynging them to take counsell & aduise wth whither they wolde approbate and allowe the sayd composition by wene his brother Julius & Jugurth: or els nat. But he knewe tryght well that the senators wolde nat cōferme the same. Wherefore (in meane tyme whyle they were cōsulting) he elect souldyours for suppliment to fullfyll Jugurth.

f. iii.

Quæ q̄q̄ graua et flagitia plena erant: tamē quæ a mortis metu mirabantur sicut regi libuerat: p̄a conuenit.

Ed vbi ea Romæ compta sunt: metus atque metus ciuitatem inuasit. Patres dolere pro gloria imperij patris in soliti bellicarum rerum timore libertati.

Aulo omnes i fessit ac maxime qui bello clari sepe fuerant quæ amarus de decore potius quam salutem quesierat.

Cbea consul Albinus ex delicto fratris inuidiam ac deinde periculum timens senatum de sceleris consulebat: tamen exercitui interitum supplementum scribere.



## The batayle

A scelis et nomine latine  
no auxilia accersere: des-  
rique omnibus modis se  
Quare.

*Scipio (vbi par fuerat)*  
decebat suo atque popu-  
li iniussu nullum posuisse  
sedes fieri.

Consul impeditus a tri-  
buno plebis ne quas pa-  
rauerat copias secum por-  
taret: paucis diebus in A-  
phricam proficiscitur.

Nā omnis exercitus (vbi  
conuenerat) Numida de-  
ductus in provincia hys-  
mabat.

Postq̄ eo ventum est (q̄q̄  
persequi Jugurtham: et  
mederi fraterne inuidie  
animus ardebat) cognis-  
tis militib⁹ quos preter  
fugam soluto imperio li-  
cētia atque lasciuia cor-  
ruperat ex copia rerū sta-  
uit sibi nihil agendum.

Interi Rome Cains Ma-  
lius limitanus tribunus  
spl. rogationem ad popu-  
lum promulgat vbi ques-  
reretur in eos quorū cō-  
silio Jugurtha senat⁹ de-  
creta neglexisse: et qui  
tradidissent elefantos  
et p̄ugas: quique ob eo  
aut in legationibus aut  
imperij pecunias accē-  
perant.

and perfoyme agayne the army whiche was in Affrike / and  
soze diminished. For many of them were slayne by Jugurth  
and his company. Wherfore Albinus rayled bp solours of  
such as were nere to the coffes of Rome / and frendes to them:  
p̄te: as Latinians and Italians with other naciōs. Of these  
he rayled as many as he myght / and assembled them togther  
bp all meanes whiche he coude deuise to founyssh he and aug-  
mente his army. At conclusion the senatours decreed in their  
counsell that no bonde of peace noz composition myght be cō-  
firmed without their consent and without the aduise & com-  
maundement of the cōmen people also: as ryght and reason  
requyred. And thus was the sayd cōposicion of Julius abzo-  
gate / as thyng presumed without consent oz cōmaundement  
of the senatours oz commens. But whan the consull Albinus  
had ordayned and prepared supplement of his army (as sayd  
is) he was prohybet and letted by the protectours of the cō-  
menty: In somethe that he was narsuffred by them to conuey  
suche company as he had rayled into Affrike / with hym as he  
intended to repayre and to rayssh the army whiche there re-  
mayned. Wherfore he ledde hymselfe forth into Affrike disa-  
pointed of his purpose with a small company of men / of his  
owne retynue. The army of the romayns whiche he before  
had comitted to Julius his brother: accordyng to the opoynte-  
ment with Jugurth / was departed forth of Numidy. And to  
pass forth the wynter / rayled in a prouince of Affrike whiche  
was subget to the empire of Rome. Whan Albinus the consull  
was arryued & come thpyder: his mynde ardently was kynde-  
led with desyre to pursue Jugurth / and to remedy the plywll  
and displeasure whiche the commens at Rome had agaynst  
Julius his brother. Acuertheles whan he knewe the maners  
and yll behauour of the soudpours: of whome some were fled  
treptiously to Jugurth (as is sayd before) & some by suffe-  
raunce of theyr capayne were infected and corrupted with  
ouermoch pleasure dissolute liberty / and voluptuous lyuing:  
this consydryng he concluded (as the case requyred) to do no-  
thyng for a season: and to attempte no maiesty: but to passe  
forth the wynter with his army without remouynge oz put-  
tyng hymselfe in reopardy oz payll.

**I**n the meane season whyle Albinus and his army solour-  
ned in the puince of Affrike tyll the wynter were ouerpasse.  
At Rome was one named Catus Manlius elect and bymit-  
ted protectour of the cōmen people whiche anone after he was  
set in authorite: assembled the cōmens: & despyred & couysled  
them that inquisition myght be made of all such by whose sup-  
portacion & counsell Jugurth had dyspised & set at nought the

ordinaūces decreed of the senatours. And agaynst them whiche had restored agayne to Jugurth the elphantes whiche Jugurth had deliuered to Calphurnius at the first composition and apoyntment whiche was made with hym. And also agaynst them whiche had receyued any money or other reward of Jugurth whyle they were embassado's or captains of armies ayens hym: send forth by the comyns. And finally the same inquisition also was extended agaynst all such as had made any pactions/apoyntmentes/or promyses of peace or of warre with enemies of the empire without generall consent of the senatours or commons.

¶ When this inquite was moued: many of the senatours & noble men of Rome knewe themselves culpable in the foresayd articles. And other some doubted soze of perylls for to come by cause of the p'yll & malpce whiche the partie of the comens confederat had agaynst them. Wherfore (yth the same noble men myght nat well respst the examinacion of these articles openly: but of necessite they must agre therto: other els knowlege themselves (by their respente) gylty in the same: therfore they prepared impedimēt priuely agaynst suche inquisitions by theyr frendis: but specially by þe felowes of the empire whiche were confederate with the romayns as Italians & Latiniās. The princes of these nations & suche other lyke gaue counsell to the senatours whiche were nat faulty in the premises/and also to the comenty: that in suche a troublous/bely/and peryllous season no suche examinacions shulde be made nor proceede forwarde to effect: for drede of many inconueniēces which of the same myght tye bytwene the noble men & the comens. But (this nat withstanding) it is a merueylous thyng and in maner incredible to speke of: how bely and diligent the comens were to haue the same inquisition to proceede/and to be brought to effect: and that rather for hatred whiche they had agaynst the noble men (agaynst whome the sayd inquisition was ordayned) thā for any good wyll or fauour/ whiche they had to the comen wele. So great pleasure & desyre of hartyce was among them. Wherfore whyle the remenant of the noble men were soze troubled with fere and drede. Marcus Scaurus which was before sent into Affrike with Calphurnius (as I haue sayd) provided for hymselfe in crafty maner as I shall nowe declare. Whyle the comenty was mercy & iopous of this examinacion & many of the company of Scaurus that knew themselves faulty fled for feare. And the hole cite was in moche drede and Anilius obtayned his petition & wyll of the comenty. In somoche that anone were ordayned thre noble men commissioners to examine the thre articles before recethered and

Item qui de pace / aut bello cum hostibus pactationes fecissent.

Huic rogationi partim conscijs sibi talij ex partim inuidia pericula mouentes: quoniam aparte resistere non poterant qui illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur occulte p' amicos ac maxime p' homines nominis latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant.

Sed plebs / credibile me moratu est / q̄tum intentā fuerit q̄taque vi rogationem insierit: magis odio nobilitatis (cui illa mala parabantur) q̄ cura reipublice.

Tāta libido in patribus erat. Igitur ceteris pculsis metu Marcus Scaurus quem legatum Bestie supra memorauimus inter leticiam plebis et suorum fugā trepida etiam tunc ciuitate quum ex Māli rogatiōe tres questores rogarētur: effecerat ut ipse in eo mupero crearetur.



## The batayle

here insupng of whom the first was of them which counsell'd Jugurth to dispise the decreits of the senatours and that toke money oꝝ rewardes of hym. The seconde was of them that solde agayn to Jugurth the foxsayd elyphantes and the Mus indiens that left Jugurth commynge on the romayns syde. And the thyrde examinacion was of them whiche had made any apointment of peace oꝝ warre with the ennemis of Rome as was Jugurth. But nat withstandynge that Calpurnius was culpable in the same asmoche as any other of the noble men. Neuerthelesse he shyfted so for hymselfe that he was electe to be one of the examinours oꝝ commysioners to make inquisition of these thre poyntes reheried. The inquisition proceded to effecte and was handled and put in execution with moche violence and sharpely after the comynen rumour and pleasure of the comenty. Thus the people seynge theyꝝ pleasure fulfilled / at that tyme began to be proude and statly therof in lyke wyse as the estates had ben in foꝛetyme of theyꝝ power and lordshyp. But here wyl I make a small digression from my purpose & tell wherof this variance & discorde bytwene the comens and noble men first proceded.

**Wherof the dyscorde and takynge of parties bytwene the noble men and comens of Rome / had fyrst begynnyng. ¶ The xxvii. chapyter.**

*Sed questione exercitata aspere violenterque ex sumore et libidine plebis: vt saepe nobilitatem: sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.*

**C**eterum mos partifi popularium: et senatus factionum: ac de inde omnium malarum artium paucis ante annis Romae ortus est otio atque habundantia earum rerumque prima mortales ducunt.

Nam ante Carthaginem deleram populus et senatus romanus placide modestaque inter se rempublicam tractabant. Neque glorie certamen neque dominationis inter ciues erat. Merus hostilis in hostibus artibus ciuitatem retinebat.

Sed ubi illa formido amentibus discessit: scilicet



**T**his manner of deuision of the comente from the estates of Rome: This dyscorde & takynge of parties bytwene them: & this inordinate custom of all other incoueniences began among the but a few years before this tyme by meane of ouer much the rest adydlenes: by superfluous habundance of richesse / voluptuosite / and of other worldely delectacions: whiche many counte & repute for most chiefe pleasures of this lyfe. For before the destruction of Carthage / the senatours and comenty of Rome treated and gouerned the comen wele bytwene them peasably in loue and concorde. So that among the citezens was no strepe noꝝ debate / for laude / excellence / for dignite / noꝝ for great dominion. The bredde whiche they had of their ennemis made them warre and kept them in good maners causynge them to gouerne their cite with good & vertues institutes / without variance / without robbery / without oppression / without slaughter noꝝ other lyke cruell tyrannies. But whan Carthage was overcome anone was expul

sed fere from theyr myndes: and voluptuosite/wantonnes/ & pride (which at greatly loued in welth and prosperite) anone entered their myndes: so that they despyed peace whā they had warre. But whā the warre was ended: & that they had peace and pbenes after theyr owne desyre: theyr peace and rest was moze sharpe/moze bytter/moze intollerable/and moze perilous to them thā the warre was before. For the estates began to tourne theyr dignite & wo:shyp/into immoderate affection of great lordshyppe and dominacion. And the comen people began to tourne theyr libertie into lust and pleasure. Euery man prouyded and dreyne to hymselfe robbynge & reauynge without measure/from the comen wele. Thus was the comen mentie abstract & deuyded from the lordes. So was the cite deuyded into two partes. And the comen wele which was in þ myddes bytwene the on euery syde was pylled/robbed/& bitterly wasted of them both: on both sydes. But the power of the noble men and of theyr party was moze myghty than the power of þ comens. For all the estates were all togyder assembled/contoynd/& vnyed. But the comens were dispersed and spredde abrode into dyuerse places and companyes gettynge theyr lyueng with labour of theyr handes & sweate of theyr bodies. So euery thyng was gouerned in peace and in warre at pleasure & aduysle of a fewe priuate noble men. The comen treasure/the prouynces/maistershyppes/offices/tributes/wo:shyppe/triumphes/and all other thynges longynge to honour or auantage were onely in hand: & possession of the same fewe noble men. But the simple comen people was weryed & oppressed with pouerty/with batayle/and warfare. Euer in leopardy/and neuer in auantage nor lucre. For the captayns with a fewe other noble men pulled suche prayes as were taken in batayle onely to theyr singular auantage and behofe. But in the meane season the parentes & small chyldren of the souldyours were dyuyn from their dwelling places & possessions by the sayd noble men: echone of them by that lord vnto whom they dwelled nerest. And so the myght & power of such noble men cōtoynd with immoderate couetyse assayled/depyled/wasted/and dystroyed euery thyng without good maner without measure or moderacion: hauynge no respect nor cōsideracion of any thyng belongynge to goodnes or vertue: tyll they had so far forth proceded that at conclusion they were dystroyed & ouerthrowen by theyr owne obstinate pride & tyranny. But at last allone as euer some of the estates were founde whiche remembryng and conspyng themselves: set moze by true and laudable gloze/ than by iniust power and dignite. And were moued in myndes by compassion to shewe mercy &

cet ea que res secunde amant: lasciua / atque superbia incellere. Ita (quod in aduersis rebus oporauerant) oecium postq̄ adepti sunt / acerbius / asperius que tulere.

Nam cepete nobilitas dignitate in dñationē: populus libertatē in libidinem vertere: sibi quicquid ducere/trahere/rāpere.

Ita om̄ia induas partes abstracta sunt. res publica / quæ media fuerat dilacerata est.

Ceterū nobilitas factione magis pollebat plebis.

Vis soluta ac dispersa in multitudine minus poterat.

Paucorum arbitrio bellidomique respublica agitabatur: penes eodē rarium/prouincie/magistratus/glorie/triumphi que erant.

Populus militia atque inopia vrgebatur.

Predas bellicas impatores cū paucis diripiebāt.

Interea patres aut paruuli liberi militū (vti quisque potentiori confinis erat) sedibus pellebātur. Ita cum potentia auaritia sine modo modestiaque inuadere/polluere/et vastare omnia: nihil p̄sū neque sancti habere: quo ad semetipsā precipitauit.

nā vbi p̄m ex nobilitate cepti sunt / p̄m verā gloriāz im̄p̄e potentie añ ponerēt: sic moneri ci



## The batayle

*nitat et dissentio milis/  
pauli pemptio terre o  
viri cepit.*


Nā postq̄ Tiberius et Caius Gracchus (quorū maiores in punico bello atq̄ alijs multum respublice addiderāt) vendicare plebem in libertatē: et paucorum scelera patefacere cepere: nobilitas noxia atque eo pculsa modop socios ac nomē latinū interdum per equites Romanos (quos spes societatis a plebe dimouerat) Gracchorum actionibus obuiā erat: et primo Tiberiū deinde paucos post annos ingredientem eadem Caium tribunum alterum triumuirū inducendis colonijs: cū Marcho Fulvio Flacco ferro necauerat. Et sane Gracchus cupidine victorie nō satis moderatus fuit.

Sed bono vinci facius est: q̄ malo more iniuriā vincere.

Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex libidine sua vsa multos mortalis ferro aut fuga extinxit: plusq̄ in reliquum sibi timoris q̄ potentie addidit.

Quæ res plerumque magnas ciuitates pessundet: dū alteri alteros vincere quouis modo et viâ acerbis vlcisci volunt. Sed de studijs patrium oibus que ciuitatis moribꝫ si singulatim aut pro magnitudine parem differere: tps̄ q̄ res maturius me desereret. Quam obrem ad inceptum redeo.

parte agaynst the cōmente and to socour theire misery than began the cite to be troubled and moued greuously for the courage of the cōmens was reuoced by suppoztacion of such noble men: by meanes wherof discorde and deupcion began to rype in the cite/as it were drye dust of the grounde rayled in a great & tempestuous wynde. For after that Tiberius Gracchus & Caius Gracchus (whose progenitours moche encreased the cōmen wayle in many batayls / but namely in the batayle of Carthage) began to restore the commētie into theyr olde libertie/and to detect the cruell mysdedes of the fewe in iurious estates. Than all the lordes cōfederate: and after manner chased with yre assembled theyr felowes / as Latyntians and some knyghtes of Rome/ which in hope of p̄mociō left the cōmens party and helde with the noble men. All these with suche as were to them lenyng of other nacions began to withstande the accusēmetes of both the sayd Saccus/ whiche were fauourers of the cōmenty: & first of all they slewe Tiberius Gracchus. And after that within a fewe yeres they slewe the other bzother named Caius Gracchus/ whyle he was p̄tectour of the cōmenty: bycause that he acorpyng to lawe & right deuided among the pooze cōmente such land/ as they had won in batayle of theyr ennemites. And at the same season the estates put to death also a lord named Marcus Saccus / bycause he defended the cōmens liberte agaynst theyr extorcion. But roushyng the two bzethern Tiberius/ and Caius Gracchus: sothly their myndes were greatly immoderate and vnmesurable in theyr desyre to ouercome the states. Neuer thelesse it had beene moche better to the states to haue suffred them in theyr tryght wyse to tell / & somewhat to haue inclyned to theyr myndes than to haue ouercome them so violently and slayne them so inuypously / how best that they were ouer hasty & hely. But whan the states had the victoꝝy of them after their desyre & pleasure than put they to death the cōmenty without nombꝛe / and many they exiled & dꝛoue out of the cite. In somoch that frō then forth they rather encreased theyr crueltie and feare to the cōmens/ than their owne honoure or power. By which meanes many worthy citees haue often tymes ben dystroyed whyle the estates and commens contende the one/ to ouercome the other/ by one meane or other. And whyle the party byctoure wyll punyssh the ouer greuously that party which is ouercome. But yf I wold prepare to write of the besynesse and dedes of both the parties seriatly & dystynctly. And yf I shulde touche all the maners of the cite acorpyng to the gretnesse of the matter and as it requyꝛeth: so hely the tyme shuld sayle me rather than the matter. Wherefore I wyll ompt this superfluous and

infenite besynes/and retourne to my first mater and purpose  
touchyng this cronycle of this tyranne Jugurth. 

**Howe Metellus was creat consull and sende  
by the Romayns to warre agaynst Jugurthe: &  
of the wyse and dyscrete behauour of the same  
Metellus. The xxviii. chapyter.**



**A**fter the truse and composition of  
Julus before sayde made with Jugurth/ &  
the foule & shamfull flyght of the romayne  
army: Quintus Metellus/ and Marcus  
Sillanus/ were creat & proclaimed consuls  
of Rome/ whiche acordyng to the olde cus-  
tome parted & deuyded the prouynces be-  
longyng to Rome bytweene them bothe. The countrey of Nu-  
midy fell and happened to Metellus. This Metellus was a  
fiere man and a noble & a worthy warrpout. And howbeit he  
sauoured the party of the noble men and was contrary to the  
party of the comens: neuertheles he was of same vnderfyled &  
vnuolat/ and cousted of good name indifferently on both par-  
ties. None as euer this Metellus entered in his office & dis-  
gnite/ he thought that euery thyng apartayning to his rowm  
& charge beloged as well to his partyng felowe as to hymselfe/  
saue the warre of Numidy: whiche onely belonged to hym-  
selfe & to his ptticuler charge: Wherefore he compted all other  
charges to Sillanus/ and onely sette his mynde to make pro-  
uysion for y warre agaynst Jugurth. But bycause he mistru-  
sted the olde army whiche was in Numidy with Albinus &  
Julus/ and had no cofydence in the myndes of these soudyo's  
corrupted with yvelnes & many other vices: therfore he ele-  
cted and assembled newe soudyours. And of all suche as were  
felowes & frendes confederate to the Romayns/ he called for  
helpe & socours. He prepared & made redy armoure/ wepyn/  
horse harnes/ and all other ordynaunce expedient to warfare.  
And also he ordayned abundaunce of bytays. And shortly to  
speke all thyng/ he ordayned which at wont to be necessary &  
profitable to the variable chaunces & incertayne accidentes/  
and seopardies of warre/ which requyrez reparacion of ma-  
ny thynges & chargeable. But suche as were felowes of the  
empire of Rome at instaunce & request of the senatours: and  
by theyr authorite and by the Latinians & many other stran-  
ge kynges of theyr owne frewll sent socours to Metellus to  
auaunce hym in his enterpryse: And shortly to speke the hole

**P**ost Auli sedus Jexer-  
citius que nostri fugā  
sedam/ Quintus Me-  
tellus et Marcus Silla-  
nus consules designati/  
prouintias inter se parti-  
uerant.

Metelloq Numidia ob-  
uenerat/ sacri viro: et q̄q̄  
aduerso populi partibus/  
fama tamen aquabili et  
inuitolara.

Is vbi primam magistra-  
tū ingressus est: alia om-  
nia sibi cum collega coia-  
ratus ad bellum/ quod ge-  
sturus erat/ aim intēdit.

Igitur diffidēs veteri ex-  
ercitui: milites eligere/  
scribere/ presidia vndiq̄  
accessere/ arma/ tela/ es-  
quos/ et cetera instrumē-  
ta milite parare: ad hoc  
cōmeatum affatim/ deni-  
que omnia quæ in bello  
vario et multarum rerū  
egenti/ vsui esse solent.

Ceterum ad ea patrā-  
da senatus autoritate/  
socij/ nomēque latinū/ et  
reges. Postremo ois ciui-  
tas summo studio adnites-  
bantur.

*vl<sup>o</sup> auxilia*



## The batayle

Itaque ex sententia om-  
nibus rebus paratis com-  
positis que in Numidiam  
proficiscitur magna spe  
cuius: tum propter artis  
bonas: tum maxime quod ad-  
uersum diuitias inuictum  
animum gerebatur aua-  
ritia magistratum ante  
id tempus in Numidia no-  
stre opes contuse: hostium  
que aucte erant. Sed ubi  
in Africam venit: exer-  
citus ei traditur a Spu-  
rio Albino proconsole in-  
ers imbecillis: neque peri-  
culi neque laboris patien-  
s: lingua quam manu prom-  
ptior: predator ex socijs:  
et ipse preda hostium sine  
imperio & modestia ha-  
bitus. Ita imperatori no-  
uo plus e malis maiori-  
bus solitudinis: quam ex co-  
pia militum auxilij aut bo-  
ne spei accedebat. Statu-  
it tamen Metellus: quod et  
estiuorum tempus comitorum  
mora imminuerat: et ex-  
pectatione euentus ciui-  
um animos intentos puta-  
bat: non prius bellum at-  
tingere: quam maiorum disci-  
plina milites laborare  
coegerit. Nam Albinus  
Auli fratris exercitusque  
clade perculsus: postquam de-  
creuerat non egredi pro-  
uincia: quantum temporis asti-  
uorum in imperio fuit: ple-  
rumque milites in statu-  
tis castris habebat: nisi  
cum odor: aut pabuli e-  
gestas locum mutare sub-  
egerat. Sed neque more  
militari vigilie ducebantur:  
ut cuique libebat: ab-  
signis aberat. Lixae pueri  
et cum equitibus die no-  
ctuque vagabantur: & pas-  
lantes agros vastare: vili-  
as expugnare: pecoris et

capte labourated withall they: myght to socoure and ayde Me-  
tellus in his besynesse. Thus at last whan euery thyng was  
prouyded and sette in order after his pleasure & intent: than  
toke he his iournay into Numidy/ with great hope of all the  
cptyens of Rome that for his good maners: and specialy for  
that his mynde was knouercoe with rychesse or couerpyse. hat  
he shuld do moze honoure to the empire than his predecesso's  
had in the warre of Numidy. For before his departynge the  
welth of Numidy (by couerpyse of the officers of Rome) was  
augmented: but the welth of the Romayns wasted and demis-  
nished. Whan Metellus was come to Affrike/ the army was  
deliuered vnto hym by Albinus: which army was vnecrafty/  
fluggyshe / & feble nouthet able to endure payll nor labour/  
of tynge moze redy/ fiers/ and hardy than of hande: whiche  
was wont to robbe/ and pyll from felowes and frendes of the  
empire. But it selfe endured by cowardise to be robbed and  
spoyled of enemies of the empyre / as a lawlesse & dysordred  
company of men vngouerned & without authorite or maners.  
Wherfore Metellus the newe capytayne hadde moche moze  
thought & besynesse/ for suche corrupt & vicious maners of a  
company so farre out of order/ than he hadde helpe or good  
hope of confort in the multitude of them. Thus howebeit he  
sawe the tyme of election of newe consuls drawe nere. And all  
yf he also vnderstode that the Romayns daly loked after  
some ende of the warre. These causes nat withstandyng yet  
he concluded/ nat to begyn the warre tyll he had excercysed and  
bled the soudyos with besynesse & labour aft the instruction  
and custome of olde capytayns/ bled before his tyme. For why  
Albinus was so astonyed with the aduersite & myschaunce of  
his brother Julius and for murdye of his hoost: that after he  
purposed nat to depart out of the romayns prouince whiche  
was in Affrike/ he kept the soudyos alway ydell in theyr ten-  
tes as longe as the somer season lasted & as long as he was in  
authorite in somoche that they chaunged no place except the  
corrupt sauoure of the place/ or els necessite of batayle constrain-  
ned them to remoue. Nor accordyng to the custome & maner  
of warrpours amonge them was no watche: but euery man  
came & went at his owne pleasure/ and absented the selfe from  
theyr standerdes whan it lyked them. The scolyons & pages  
wandred day & nyght mengled among the hoysenmen & chiefe  
of the soudyours without any order: And many other as ro-  
uers dyspersed abrode destroyed the countrey / fyghtynge  
agaynst the small villages/ & nat agaynst cities nor townes.  
They carryed away from the sayd villages prayes of catell:  
and the inhabitantes ledde away also with them as prisoners  
with other

with other prayes stryving togyder who myght haue most/ and than after chaunged the sayde roberies with marchauntes for delictious & strong wyne carped from other strange countreys/ where better wyne grewe than in that countrey: and for other suche delictious thyngs. They solde away the where and other vitayles which was deliuered of theyr capytayns among them in comen & dayly they bought theyr bread. And finally what euer shame or rebuke longyng to couetyse or lecherie: coude outhet be sayd/ done/ or ymagined of any man: all was vled in that host. And among some: moze shamefull dedes than ought to be named. But Metellus behaued hym selfe as a myghty & wyle man/ nat lesse this difficultie & hardnesse/ than if it had ben in a batayle foughte agaynst his ennemies as he which in myddes of so great couetyse/ voluptuosityte/ & cruelty was spingulerly indued with tēperaunce: & merueylous good maner vled he/ in coartpyng the same fautes. Wherfore at the first begynnynge he withdrew & auoyded from the army at his commaundemēt & ordinaunce: the occasions which stryged the soudpours to suche slouth/ cowardyse/ and voluptuosite. For he commaunded vnder great payne that no person shulde be so hardy to sell among the soudpours nouthet bread nor other vitayle all redde dyssed saue the comen puysson: that the pages/ waterlagers & scolpours shuld nat coe nere the army/ nor folowe the same. That none of the comen & simple soudpours shulde kepe or mentayne seruauant nor beest in theyr tentes nor byage/ whyle they moued fro place to place. These inconueniences first of all he redressed & reformed. After these amēded: all other fautes he mesured by his wysdome/ craft/ and policy: reformed by lptell & lptell. This done (to haue his soudpours occupied) he moued dayly from place to place: and that nat in wayes comen & vled/ but by harde and vnoccupped wayes. He caused them dayly to cast dyche/ & trenches about the army/ to the intent that they shuld nat waxe slouthfull/ nor vicious by ouermoch rest & ydlenesse. He ordayned often watche among them euery nyght: and he hymselfe accompanied with his vnder captayns and heed officers often serched yf the watches were truly kept/ copassyng about the army on euery syde. Whyle they remoued & chaunged places: somtyme he was in the forwarde and amonge the first: somtyme in the reterwarde or hynder part/ and anone in the myddes ouersyng theyr order to the intent that none shulde passe out of order/ aray/ and place to them assigned. But kepe thicke togyder euery man & company about theyr owne standerd: and also he ordayned that among themselves they shulde conuey & cary theyr owne vitayles and

Augurth.

G. i.

mācipiorum predas/ cer tantes agere: eaque mutare cū marcorib⁹ pro vino aduēctio et alijs talibus.

Præterea frumentum publice datum vendere: panem indies mercari. Postremo quęcunq; dici aut fingi queunt ignaue luxurieq; probra in illo exercitu cuncta fueret: et alia amplius. Sed in ea difficultate Metellū non minus q̃ in rebus hostilibus magnum et sapientū virum fuisse cōperio: tanta temperātia inter ambitionem seuitiamq; moderatū. Nāq; edicto primo adiumenta ignauidicis sustulisse: ne quisq; i castris panem/ aut quem alium cibum coctum venderet: ne lixe sequeretur exercitum: ne miles gregarius in castris/ ne ue in agmine seruū aut iumentum haberet.

Cæteris arte modum statuisse. Præterea transuersis itinerib⁹ quotidie castra mouere: vallo ac fossa munire: vigilias crebras ponere: et eas ipse cum legatis circūire.

Item i agmine inprimis modo: modo i postremis saepe in medio adesse: ne quispiam ordine egrediretur: vt cum signis frequentes incederent: miles cibum et arma portaret.



## The batayle

Ita prohibēdo a delictis  
magis q̄ vindicando exer-  
citum breui cōfirmavit.

armoure. And thus in short tyme he consermed and sette the  
army in good order rather with sayre wordes/or rebukynge &  
blamynge theyr fautes: & pro hybitynge their dysorder: than in  
chastysynge or punysshynge their offences w<sup>th</sup> rygour or crueltie.

**O**f the behauour of Jugurth agaynst Metel-  
lus: and howe he sende embassadours to Metel-  
lus requyring vnsaynedly to yelde vp the kyngs  
dome of Numidy to the empyre of Rome: And  
howe Metellus behaued hymselfe agaynst the  
same embassadours. **The. xxix. chapyter.**

**I**nterea Jugurtha ubi  
ea quæ Metellus age-  
bat ex nūcijs accepit: si-  
mul de innocentia ei⁹ cer-  
tior Rome fact⁹ diffidere  
suis rebus: ac tum deum  
veram deditiōem face-  
re conatus est.

Igitur legatos ad consus-  
lem cum supplicijs mit-  
tit. Qui tantūmodo ipsi  
libertis quæ vitā peterēt:  
alia omnia dederent po-  
pulo Romano. Sed Me-  
tello iā antea experimē-  
tis cognitum erat genus  
numidarum infidum: in-  
genio mobili: nouarū re-  
rum audum esse. Itaque  
legatos alium ab alio di-  
uersos aggreditur: ac pau-  
latim tentando postq̄ o-  
portunos sibi cognouit:  
multa pollicendo persua-  
det: vt Jugurtham maxie  
uiuum: sin id parum pro-  
cedat: necatum sibi trade-  
rent.

Cætera palam quæ ex vo-  
luntate forent nunciari  
regi iubet.



**M** the meane seasō whan Jugur-  
th vnderstode by messangers & espies of  
this behauour of Metellus: and also whā  
he remembred that which was insourmed  
to hym at Rome of the integre and vns-  
despyled name of Metellus / whiche wolde  
nat be corrupte with money nor accloped  
with byrbes lyke other before: he began to mistruste his mat-  
ters and to haue lasse confydence in his cause: thanne euer he  
had before. In somoche that than he began to laboure to yel-  
de hymselfe vnsaynedly / and to make a trewe composytion  
with Metellus / and the Romayns without any fytion / gy-  
le / or disceyt. Wherefore he sende embassadours with supplica-  
tions & peticions / requyring humbly of Metellus to graunt  
to hym his owne lyfe: and the lyfe of his chyldren onely: and  
concernyng all other thyng: he wolde yelde them into handes  
of the romayns. But Metellus knewe well ynough long be-  
fore this tyme by often experience & profe y<sup>e</sup> the Numidiāns of  
naturall disposicion were vnsaythfull / mouable / and vnstable  
of myndes: newfangled and moche despyous of newe besy-  
nesse & neweltes. Wherefore he began with the embassadours  
of Jugurth / taltynge and prouynge the mynde of eche of them /  
by lytell and lytell: and separatly one by one. And whan he  
knewe that they somewhat inclined to his purpose: he than pro-  
myssed to them great gyftes & promociōn so that they wold do  
some pleasure for hym & for the senatours & people of Rome.  
Than at last he counsayled and despyed them to despyet Ju-  
gurth to hym alpyue specially if it myght be brought about:  
and yf they coude nat so / than to despyet hym outhet quicks  
or deed. But whan he had made this apoyntement secretly  
with the embassadours decyded in sonder one by one: than

openly (that euery man myght here) he shewed to them all to gyder other thynges as his pleasure was that they shulde certifye their kynge Jugurth concernynge their embassade. After this within fewe dayes whan he sawe his hoost moost redy and contrary to Jugurth he remoued his tentes and so addressed hym with his army redy in aray and went forward into Numidy: where contrary to any similitude of warre the byllages and cotages were full of men / the felde full of beest / and tylmen: and euery where was moche plenty of people ponge and olde namely rude people & tyllers of the grounde / whiche had styll fled befoze the army in fozetyme foz feare / but at the last whan they sawe no defence no socoure the kynges lewtenantes and all other left their townes / billages / and lodges / and went fozthe to mete Metellus withall humilite / honour / and seruice submittyng themselfe to hym / and redy to gyue to hym whete and other cozie suche as they had. And to carry bitaples after his hoost to ease the souldyours and to do and parfourme all other thynges what euer they were commaunded. But foz all this: Metellus was nat lesse diligent noz circumspect in orderyng of his hoost / but proceeded fozwarde togyder with his army in aray redy in armoure and defended as if they ennemies had ben nere at hande serchynge the countrey abrode on euery syde by his espies doutynge treason and thynkynge that all these tokens of subiection were but foz a face or cloke to couer the treason & gyle of Jugurth. And so by suche dysceit to waipte a tyme to execute his treason. Wherefoze Metellus thus mysdempnge kept hymselfe in the fozwarde of the hoost with an elect and chosen company of archers / syngers / and other lyke souldyours apoynted in lycht harnes. His vnder captayne Caius Marius had rule and charge of the reterwarde amonge the hoysmen and on bothe the wynges of his hoost he ordayned hoysmen & other souldyours foz supplement / subtyd / and socours of the fozwarde yf nede shulde requyre / and amonge them to expell their ennemies on what syde so euer they shulde come / were mengled bowmen and other lycht harnysed foremen with dartes / pykes / and sauelyns to trouble the hoysmen of theyr ennemies. Foz in Jugurth was so moche gyle so great experience and knowledge of the countrey / and also so great prynciple of chynalrie: that a man coude nat well knowe whether he were moze to be doutted or moze greuous in peace or in wate or whyle he was absent or present.

¶ At farre from that way whiche Metellus helde with his army was a towne of the Numidyans moche accustomed and frequented of marchantes of Italy and other strange coun-  
Jugurth.

C. ii.

Deinde paucis diebus intentato atque infesto exercitu in Numidiam procedit. Vbi contra belli faciem tuguria plena hominum: pecora / cultoresque in agris erant: ex oppidis et mapalibus profecti regis obuiam procedebant: parati frumentum dare: comestum portare.

Postremo omnia quae imperarentur facere.

Neque Metellus idcirco minus sed pariter ac si hostes adessent: munito agmine iocedere: late explorare: oia illa deditiois signa ostendi esse credere: & insidijs locum tentare.

Itaque cum expeditis cohortibus: item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manus apud primos erat. Postremo Caius Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat. In utrumque latum auxilios equites tribunis legionum et praefectis cohortum dispartuerat: ut cum his velites permixti quocumque accederent: equitatus hostium pulsaret. Nam in Iugurtha tantus dolus / tantaque peritia locorum et militie erat: ut absens an praesens: pacem an bellum gerens: praenitiosior esset: incerto haberetur. Erat haud longe ab eo itinere: quo Metellus pergebat: oppidum Num-



## The batayle

midarum noie Vacca for-  
rum rerum venaliū toti  
regnet maxime celebra-  
tū: vbi et incolere: et mer-  
cari res consueuerāt Itac-  
lici generis multi mortua-  
les. Huic consul simul tē-  
tandi gfa et capiundi (si  
paterent oportunitates  
loci) presidium imposuit.  
Præterea impauit frumē-  
tū et alia quæ bello vsui  
forent cōportare: ratus  
(id quod res monebat) fre-  
quētiā negotiatorū et  
cōmeatū etiā paratis res-  
bus munimento fore. In-  
ter hæc negotia Iugurtha  
impensius modo legatos  
supplices mittere: pacem  
rogare: præter suam libe-  
rorumque vitam Metel-  
lo omnia dedere.

Quos itē (vt priores) cō-  
sul illectos dimittebat  
ad prodicionem: regi pa-  
cem quam postulabat) ne-  
que abnuere: neque polli-  
ceri: et inter eas moras  
promissa legatorū ex pe-  
scare.

Iugurtha vbi Metelli dis-  
cta cum factis composu-  
it: ac se suis artibus ten-  
tari aduertit (Quippe  
cui pax verbis nunciaba-  
tur: cæterum rebellum a-  
sperrimū erat: Vrbis mas-  
xima alienata:

Ager hostibus cognitus:  
animi popularium tenta-  
ti) coactus rerum necessi-  
tudine statuit armis cõ-  
sare.

treis: and the princypall market to tūne of all the kyngdome  
of Numidy. This towne was named Vacca/ Metellus hee  
we hym and his army thyder/ and set garnyson into the same  
towne. This dyd he to proue the myndes of the inhabytan-  
tes: for if they had kept forth the garnyson/ thanne shulde they  
eupdently haue declared themselfe enemies of the romayns.  
And also he ledde a garnyson thyder to thintent to haue taken  
the towne by force of armes/ yf the inhabytantes wolde nat  
haue admytted the same garnyson. Also he commaunded by  
taps/ and all other thynges necessary or expedient to warre  
for to be brought thyder thynkynge (as the case required) that  
the concours of marchantes resoptyng thyder. And his good  
prouision of bytaps shulde be great defence and conseruacy-  
on for hym and his army bothe in warre and in peace. But  
whan the citezins sawe such purueyance as he made of bitels  
consydryng that he shulde nat hurt nor disprouyde them why-  
le he had bytell ynough of his owne prouision: anon they ope-  
ned the gates and suffred hym to entre withall his garnyson  
and retynue. But in the mean tyme Iugurth agayne sende  
his embassadours to Metellus more diligently and instanter  
ly than he had done before/ mekely besechyng and requyryng  
hym of peace: And yeldyng vnto hym euery thyng/ onely res-  
serued his owne lyfe: and the lyfe of his chyldren. Metellus  
sende these embassadours home agayne attyled to the prouy-  
sion of their maister Iugurth as he had done to the other em-  
bassadours which were sent before. But concernyng þ peace  
which they desyred in their maisters name: nouthet he graū-  
ted nor betterly denyed it. And in this prolongynge of tyme he  
loked alway after parfoumynge of the promesse of the other  
embassadours/ whiche before had graunted to the betrayeng  
of Iugurth. But whan Iugurth consyded and pondered to  
gyder the wordes & dedes of Metellus/ and whan he percey-  
ued in mynde hymselfe assayled with his owne craftes of sub-  
tyltye: and that Metellus vsed suche craftes agaynst hym/ as  
he hymselfe had vsed agaynst other: than was his mynde gre-  
ued most of all. For Metellus sayned peace/ but in very dede  
heshe wed sharpe warre. Iugurth thus cōsyded also: that his  
greatest towne named Vacca/ was alienate & lost from hym:  
his enemies by longe continuauce and exercise knewe the  
coostes of his countrey of Numidy. The myndes of his  
lordes and cōmens were prouoked and moued agaynst hym.  
Whan he aduysed these difficulties with other mo cōtrary to  
hym he concluded & fully determined at last to resyst and with-  
stane Metellus in batayle/ with strength & force of armes and  
no farther to make nor submitte hymselfe by petition.

Howe Jugurth prepared and addrest hym-  
selfe agayne to warre: and what ordynaunce  
and policy he vsed agaynst the newe  
consull Metellus.

The. xxx. chapyter.

**W**herfore Jugurth thus determinynge  
to assaile Metellus causd his wayes to be espy-  
ed/ haupng hope of victorie by auauancement &  
auauntage of some place: where he intended of  
the place and countrey: and anone prepared the  
greatest army y<sup>e</sup> he coude of all sortes of people. This done/  
he dyd so moche that by hylles/narowe passages & by pathes  
he p<sup>r</sup>euented an ouerpassed the host of Metellus.

In that parte of Numidy whiche before in deuision of the  
kyngdome was assigned in possession to Adherball: was a  
flodde named Muthull/ cennynng from the meridional part  
of the countrey. A certayne hylle and longe was nere to this  
water/so that at any place the hylle was about. xx. myle from  
the streame and of equall dystance in length. The grounde of  
this hylle was of suche nature that euer it was barayne/wher-  
fore it was nat apte to mennes habitacion but desert. About  
the myddes and pendant of it was an other hylle smaller of  
quantite: but of an vnmesurable heght couered and all ouer-  
growen with wyld olpue trees / with myrre trees / & other so-  
tes of trees wont to growe naturally on dry & sandy groude.  
The playne bytwene the hylles and the water was desert and  
vnhabitable for lacke of water: saue such places of the playne  
as were nere to y<sup>e</sup> flodde of Muthull which part was growen  
with small trees and occupied with men & bestes. Jugurth  
came to the sayd small hylle whiche descended from the pendat  
of the hylle greater ouerthwart the valey. And ther toke pla-  
ce with his army nat togyder but disperfed abrode amonge  
the trees by companyes and bendes/ he made his frende Bos-  
milchat capitayne and gouernour of his olipbantes/ and of  
part of his army of foremen and informed hym partitely  
howe he shulde behaue hymselfe and gouerne them whome  
he had comytted to hym bothe before the batayle/ and also  
in the batayle whan it came to the poynt. But he hymselfe  
drew nere to the great hylle withall the horsemen and many of  
the foremen whiche were elect and chosen men/ and sette them  
in ordre and array with moche policy and wysedome. This  
done: he hymselfe went about & compassed euery company/  
cohort/ and bende synghely: and one by one warnynge and

Jugurth.

G. lli.

**I**gitur explorato itinere  
hostium/ in speim vis-  
torie adductus ex op-  
portunitate lociq<sup>ue</sup> maxi-  
mas copias potest/ oim ge-  
neru parat: ac per tram-  
ites oculos exercitum  
Metelli antecuenit.

Erat in ea Numidie par-  
te: qua Adherbal in diuis-  
sione possederat: flumen  
oriens a meridie nomine  
Muthula/ quo mons ab-  
erat ferme milia passu-  
um viginti tractu parit<sup>r</sup> vastus  
a natura/ et humano cul-  
tu alienat<sup>r</sup>: sed ex eo me-  
dio quasi collis oriebat<sup>r</sup>/  
in immensum pertingens/  
vestitus oleastro/ ac myr-  
theris/ alijsq<sup>ue</sup> arboru ge-  
neribus/ que humo arida  
atq<sup>ue</sup> arenosa gignuntur.  
Media autem planities  
deserta erat penuria a-  
que/ pter flumini propius  
qua loca: ea confita arbus-  
tis/ pecore atque cultoris  
bus frequentabantur.

Igitur in eo colle (quem  
transuerso itinere porres-  
tum docuim<sup>us</sup>) Jugurtha  
extenuata acie suoru co-  
sedit: elephantis et par-  
ti copiaru pedestriu Bos-  
milchatem prescit: eumq<sup>ue</sup>  
edocet/ quae ageret: ipse  
propior montem cum om-  
ni equitatu atque pediti-  
bus delectis suos collo-  
cat.

Deinde singulas turmas  
et manipulos circueun-  
s: monet atque obtestatur:  
vti memores pristina vir-



## The batayle

tutis et victorie: sese tre-  
mumque ab Romanorū  
maioria defendant. Cum  
his certamen fore quos  
antea victos sub iugum  
miserint. Ducē illis non  
animum mutatum.

Quæ ab impatore decue-  
rint omnia suis prouis-  
is locum superiorem: ut  
prudētes cum imperitis/  
ne pauciores cum pluri-  
bus / aut rudes cum bello  
melioribus / manum con-  
ferrent: proinde parti  
intentique essent, signo da-  
to Romanos inuadere.  
Illum diē / aut omnis la-  
bores et victorias confir-  
maturū: aut maximaru  
erumnarum inisiū fore.  
Ad hoc viri: ut quicquid  
ob militare facinus pe-  
cunia: aut honore extul-  
lerat cōmone facere be-  
neficiet eum ipsum ali-  
is ostentare.

Postremo pro cuiusque  
genio pollicendo: mini-  
tando: ostentando: alium  
alio modo excitare.

Cum interim Metellus in-  
gnarus hostium / monte  
degredivens cum exercitu  
conspicitur: primo dubi-  
us / quidnam insolita fa-  
cies ostenderet / (Nam in-  
ter virgulta equi Numi-  
deque confederant neque  
plane occultati humilis-  
tate arborum: et tamen  
incertum: quidnam esset/  
tum natura loci: tum do-  
lo: ipsi atque militaria  
signa obscurati) Deinde  
breui cognitis insidijs  
paulisper agmē cōstituit:  
hic cōmutatis ordinibus  
i dextro latere: quod pro-  
ximum hostib⁹ erat: tri-

requy:inge them to call to they: myndes they: olde strenght  
nobles / and victorie: and there by to defende themselfe and  
their countrey of Numidy from the immoderate couerſe of  
the romayns / whiche were nat content nor satisfied with the  
possession of the most part of the worlde / saynge fathermore  
that they shulde fyght but with suche as they before had auct-  
come and subdued. And howebeit they had chaunged they:  
captayne: the cowardise of their hertes was nat chaunged:  
Also he reherſed & declared to the that he had made all prou-  
sion for them whiche a captayne mygh or ought to make for  
his army. He declared howe he had taken for them the vpper  
place: that they were crafty in batayle and many in nombre: &  
shulde fyght with a fewe vnecrafty cowardest. Wherefore he de-  
ſpyed & exhorted them whan tyme shulde come that than they  
wolde be redy to assaile the Romayns manly at sounde of  
the trumpettes / for that one same day sayd he shulde outher  
establiſhe all they: laboures / victories / and besynesſes: or els  
it shulde be the heed and begynnyng of their most great mys-  
chefe / and destruction. Whereouer through out all his army  
he put them in remembrance man by man of þ benefites which  
he had done to them before for their manly dedes of chualry:  
as suche as for their worthynes he had rewarded with digni-  
te / money / offices / or other worthyp: and shewed suche vnto  
other cōmen souldyours sayeng that if they wolde so demean  
themselfe manly: so sholde they be promoted and auanced to  
worthyp and ryches. And thus he comforted them all euery  
man after his maners and cōditions / some with gyftes / some  
with promesses / some with thrempnynges / and other lyke ways  
acordynge to the disposicion of their myndes and nature.

¶ Whyle Jugurth thus exhorted his souldyours Metellus  
nought knowyng of his ennemies apared with his company  
dysceopyng downe the pendant of the great hyll whiche at first  
sepyng but fewe men moche marueyled what it myght signi-  
fie / for he suspected nothyng lesse than barayle: but in behol-  
dyng more intēpſly to warde the toppe of the small hyll afoze  
hym he espyed among the yong trees bothe horse & men whi-  
che wey nat fully hyd by cause of the lownesse of the trees. yet  
was he incertayne what it myght be. for what by secretnes  
of the place: and what by gyle of Jugurth / their banners & the  
most part of the souldyours were obscured & hyd lyeng downe  
vpon the grounde. But anon after whan he perceyued this  
gyle & treason: by lytell & lytell he set his army in array proce-  
dyng forwarde styll / as he dyd before / saynyng hymselfe  
ignorāt of the treason. But he chaunged the order of his sou-  
dyours: and on the ryght wyng whiche was next to the Au-

mēdypens his ennemites / he ordyned as it were a forwarde cut  
 forced with a threfolde subtyl p<sup>o</sup>z locoutes that is to say with  
 thre bendes of p<sup>o</sup>ued souldyours to rescue & helpe them whan  
 nede shulde be. The archers suche as with syngs shulde cast  
 agaynst their enemis plūmetts of led & yron / & all other whiche  
 were of lyght harnes: all these he deuīded among the stander  
 des of other souldyours as the case requyred: Where as after  
 the ryght ordynance of batayle / suche souldyours by them  
 selfe deuīded shulde begyn the batayle / but in this batayle the  
 spruacion of the place nat so requyred. All the hole cōpany of  
 his hoysmen he ordyred in the extremitēes & cōners of the foze  
 front of the batayle. This done as the bryupte of the tyme sus  
 fered he made a short exhortacion vnto his souldyours / & so p<sup>o</sup>z  
 seded forth with his hoost sette in array in maner befoze sayd:  
 but bycause Jugurth was on the small hyl befoze hym and  
 by that meane on the hyl ground he thought to remedy that  
 incōmodite & led forth his hoost on the syde halfe nat towarde  
 Jugurth / but alonge on the hyl towarde the flodde of Mus  
 thull / into the playne which was betwene the hyl & the flodde.  
 But whan he sawe the Numidians quēd and that they des  
 parted nat from the hyl which they had taken he cōsolyd the  
 hete and feruentnes of the sōmer season. And lyst his army  
 myght perpythe for lacke of scarcite of water: he sent befoze  
 one of his capitayns named Rutilius with a cōpany of lyght  
 harnessed souldyours and part of his hoysmen vnto the flodde  
 named Muthull for to take vp a place wherū they myght  
 set their tentes in tyme of nede: thynkyng that his cōdemnes  
 wyllyng to continue longe in that place by often assaues and  
 scarmylles shulde disturbe the romayns whyle they reloued  
 to the water. And for almoste as the Numidians trusted nat  
 moche in their strength and armoure. He thought that they  
 purposed and intended to trouble his souldyours with wepyngs  
 and thirst. Whan Rutilius was gone towarde the water  
 Metellus descended procedyng forth with all by lytell & lytell  
 as the mater and place requyred: he commaunded one named  
 Marius / with his company to kepe in the reterwarde. But  
 Metellus hymselfe with the hoysmen kept hym in the lyfte  
 wyng of the forwarde of the batayle / whiche alway remoued  
 forwarde first of all his army.

Of the fyrst batayle foughten by  
 twene Metellus and Ju  
 gurth. The. xxxi.  
 chapyter.

plicibus subsidij aciem  
 instruxit: inter manipu  
 los funditores et sagitta  
 rios dispersit.

equitatū omnem in eorū  
 nibus locat:  
 ac pauca pro tēpore mi  
 lites hortatus: aciem si  
 cuti instruxerat: trasuer  
 sis principijs in plāum  
 deducit.

Sed vbi Numidas quie  
 tos neque digressos col  
 le animaduertit: ex anni  
 tēpore veritus et inopia  
 aquę ne siti conficeretur  
 exercitus: Rutiliū lega  
 tum cū expeditis cohō  
 ribus et parte equitū pre  
 misit ad flumen: vti locū  
 castris ante caperet: exis  
 timans crebro hostes im  
 petu et transuersis preli  
 js iterū remoratorios: et  
 (quoniam armis diffide  
 ret) lassitudinem et sitim  
 militum retaturos.

Deinde ipse prore atque  
 loco sicuti monte descen  
 derat: ac paulatim proce  
 dere Mariū post princip  
 pia habere cū equi  
 tibus sinistra ala esse qui  
 in agmine principis facti  
 erant.



## The batayle

**A**t Iugurtha ubi extremū agmen Metelli primos suos prætergressum videt: præsidio quasi duū miliū pedatum montem occupat: quo Metellus descendens: ne forte cedentibus aduersarijs receptui: ac post munimento foret. Deinde repente signo dato hostes inuadit. Numidæ alij postremos cedere: pars a sinistra ac dextra tentare: infestis adesse: instare: atque omnibus locis romanorum ordinis conturbare. Quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obuij hostibus fuerant ludificati incerto prælio: ipsi modo eminus sauciabatur: neque contra ferendi aut conferendi manum copia erat.

Ante iam docti ab Iugurtha equites: ubi romano rû turmæ insequi coeperant/non confertim neque in vnum se recipiebant: sed alius alio q̃ maxime diuersi. Ita numero priores si a persequendo hostes detertere nequiebat: disiectos a tergo aut a lateribus circumueniebant. Sin oportunior sua collis quam capi fuerat: Ea vero loca consueti numidarum equi facile iter virgulta euadere: Nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebat.

Cæterum facies toti⁹ negotij varia: incerta: fœda atque miserabilis:



**B**ut when Iugurth sawe that the rereward of Metellus was passed his forward: he beset the hyll from whiche Metellus dyscended with two thousande footemen by which garnyson if Metellus wold agayne take socour of the same hyll/he shuld be prohibyted & dyuen backwarde agayne into the handes of Iugurth. This done: sodenly he dyd the trūpetes to be blowen and anone withall/ inuaded & set vpon the company of Metellus on euery syde. The Numidyens assayled and bete downe the romayns/ some on the rereward and other some dyd their deuoye to breke the aray on both sydes: both on the ryght & lyst wyng/ withall their myght assaylyng the romayns/ and auaunssyng themsele on euery syde to breke their array and ordynaunce. And after they power to trouble/dystourbe/and deuyde them. The romayns whiche were most stable and bolde of myndes in metyng their enemies were abused & dysceyued with the vncertayne batayle. For their ordynaunce and aray was set and strengthened onely but on one syde. But their enemies assayled them on euery syde: so that sōtyme they were stryken & wounded of their enemies from farre of / but by no meanes coude they stryke their enemies agayne nor tope w̃ them. For Iugurth had taught his Numidyens on hoxbake befoze the batayle that when they shuld begyn to assaile the romayns: they shulde nat kepe themsele togyder/ nor nere/ but asmoche dyspersed as they coude/ and in diuers places: one company here and another there. And where the soubpours of Iugurth coude nat auoyed nor repell the romayns whiche assayled them/ by cause they were mo in nombze: thefoze they compassed & trapped them behynde or on the sydes betw̃ of: and dysiorned from their company. And where it fortunēd any of them to fle the Numidyens had moze auantage than the romayns. For where they fled into the felde: they assayled the romayns on the backe halfe or els on bothe sydes in dyuers companyes. But where they sawe it was moze auayle and expedient to fle agayne to the hyll where they set first their ordynaunce. They had also auantage therby for their hoxes were accustomed to mountaynes and combed wayes / wherfoze they mounted with lesse difficultie/ but in contrary wyle the romayns for the sharpnes of the hylles and lacke of hse coude nat folowe them in their assedyng without moch difficulte/ payne/ and paryll. But nat withstandynge that Iugurth and his men had the most auantage of the countrey and grounde/ yet the batayle on both sydes was variable/ vncertayne/ vngoodly/ and my

serable to beholde: for the best men sonest were slayne and in moost ieopardy. For the courage and valpant myndes: bolde hertes of the romayns: was worth the gyle and treason of the Jugurthyns: and so on bothe sydes he which was boldest and moost auauered hymself was sonest ouerthrowen. Some which were deuyded from their owne company and in hand of their enemies/gaue place to them and yelved themselfe.

And agayne some folowed and chased their enemies slepyng: where they myght make their pry good: there respyed eyther partie manly. None of both parties kept vnder their stander des: no: folowed nat the order of batayle: no: kept none order no: array: but euery man respyed and defended hymself they where moost ieopardy and peryll was layed to hym: and en- deuoyred hymselfe to withstande the vyolence of his enemies with hye valpantise. And so the armour defensyfs/dartes/me horte/Romayns/Numidyans/soudpours/and pages were all confounded and mengledde togyder: without order or dynaunce obseued. Nothyng was done with dyscreccion of the soudpours no: with counsell of the captayns: vnauyfled fortune and chaunce gouerned all the dyspynesse of that day: so vnstable was the batayle. All was committed to rule of fortune/ And thus passed forth moche of the day in great murder and slaughter: yet styll was the ende of the batayle vncertaine and none knewe whyther partye shulde haue the vyctorye. At last bothe parties with labour and heat began to languyshe and become wey. Metellus vnderstandynge that the Numidyans lesse respyed mysghyng than they dyde before assembled and gathered togyder agayne his soudpours by lytell and lytell/ and without tary restozed the aray and set them agayne in order. And. iiii. cohortes taken forth of the legyons he set agaynst the foremen of his enemies. But before Metellus had thus assembled his company: a great parte of them oppressed with woundes and weyrynesse/withdrewethemself to the hyll before named and to the hyer places from the batayle there to refreshe and rest themselfe. But whan Metellus (as sayd is) had reassembled them agayne: he began in fewe wordes to pray and exhort them in suche maner.

**O** worthy and trusty soudpours and companions dys- courage nat your selfe in this batayle: no: lette nat your olde noblenesse no: we sayle you: suffre nat your enemies wont to put their trust in flyght/ no: we to ouercome you by your fetyfull myndes. Remembre well: if ye be dysposed cowardly to fleye haue no tentes/no cyties/no townes/no castels: no: no maner places of defece: wherto ye may renne for refuge and saue your selfe, your helth, your hope/ a defence is ouely in your ar-

diuersi a suis pars rede-

re: alij insequi: neq: signa neq: ordines obseruare:

Vbi quemq: periculū ceperat: ibi resistere ac propulsare.

Arma/tela/equi/viri/homines / atque ciues pmixti: nihil cōsilio aut imperio agi: fors omnia regere.

Itaque multum diei procelleraticū etiam tū euentus in incerto erat.

Denique omnib: labore et esu languidis/ Metellus vbi videt Numidas milites in vnum cōducit: ordines restituit: et cohortes legionarias quatuor aduersus pedites hostium collocat.

Eorum magna pars locis superioribus sessa confederat: simul orare: hostium milites ne deficerent:

Neu pateretur hostes fugientes vincere:

neque illis castra esse: neque munimentum vllum: quo cedentes tenderent: in armis omnia sita,



## The batayle

*Sed nec Iugurtha quidē  
interea quietus erat: cir-  
cūire/hortari/renouare/  
prelium: et ipse cum de-  
lectis oīa subuenire suis:  
hostibus instare dubijs:  
quos firmos cognouerat:  
eminus pugnando reti-  
nere.*

*Et modo inter se duo im-  
peratores sūmi viri cer-  
tabant: ipsi pares: ceter-  
um opibus disparibus.*

*Nam Metello virtus mi-  
litū erat et locus aduer-  
sus. Iugurthæ alia oīa p-  
ter milites opportuna.  
Deinde romani vbi intel-  
ligunt neque sibi profus-  
gium esse: neque ab hoste  
copiam pugnandi fieri:  
etiam diei vesper erat:  
aduerso colle sicuti præ-  
ceptum fuerat euadunt.*

*Amisso loco Numidæ fus-  
si fugatique pauci inte-  
riore. Plerosque veloci-  
tas / et regio hostibus ig-  
nara tutara sunt.*

moure and strength: & specially in your bolde hertt. Wherefore  
dere frendes remēbze your olde woꝝshpp: & suffice nat the hole  
empire of Rome to suffice dyswoꝝshpp by your temerous and  
cowaꝝdly myndes. Remēbze it woꝝthyer to dy in batayle lyke  
men than to fle / & than to be taken & murdred lyke bestes / or  
to dye in prison. With these woꝝdes & suche lyke Metellus re-  
cōfoꝝted the hertes of his soudpours. But in meane tyme Ju-  
gurth for his part was nat yble / quyet nor lesse pꝛouident: but  
compassed and went about his men cōfoꝝtyng and exhoꝝtyng  
them also and prayng their dedes. He renued the batayle al-  
so for his part: and among the myddes of his elect soudpours  
he fought and pꝛoued thertremite of euery thyng: and assayd  
all meanes wherby any auantage myght be wonne cōfoꝝtyng  
and socouryng his men with woꝝdes / dedes / and crāple. He  
boldely fought and assayled suche of the romayns as were in  
fear or dout: and suche as he knewe & pꝛoued bolde and sted-  
fast / he kept them of with arowes / saueyls / and dartes that  
they coude nat appꝛoche to their felowes to auance them nor  
to be socoured of them. Thus two woꝝthy men noble and excel-  
lent captayns fought & cōtended togyder bytwene themselfe.  
They themselfe lyke in strength / courage / wysdome / and po-  
licy: but of thynges longyng to chyualry vnlke of pꝛouision.  
For Metellus had strength of soudpours sufficiently: but  
the auantage of the countrey and place was moche contrary  
to hym. But Jugurth had euery thyng necessary and expe-  
dyent / saue company of men of armes whiche he wanted.  
At last the romayns whan they vnderstode that there was  
no sure place wherto they myght fle: and also that they coude  
fynde no meanes to fyght with their ennemys indifferently  
hande to hande. And that the nyght was come vpon them: at  
last they ascended vpon the toppe of an hyll whiche was ouer  
agaynst them lyke as Metellus their captayne commaunded  
them to do. For the Numidyans had lost that place and were  
fledde and spredde a brode dyspersed / but fewe of them were  
slayne. For they were swyfte: and the contrey was nat well  
knownen to the Romayns to pursue them: wherby many of  
the Numidyans were defended: and so by flyght escapedde.  
But Jugurth with his hoxsemen of garde for his body: fledde  
also from the batell whan he had longe foughten and sawe no  
ne auayle nor auantage.

**How Bomylchar vndercaptayne of Jugurth  
and his company were dysconfited by Ruti-  
lyus vndercaptayne of Metellus.**

**The xxxii. chapyter.**



**I**n the mean season Bomylchar / who Jugurth had made maister of his elyphantes / and of a part of the foremen (as I haue witten before) asone as he sawe that Rutilius (which Metellus had sent vnto the floodde of Muthull to prouide a place for their tentes) was ouerpasse his company: by lptell & lptell he conuayed and ledde downe his company into a playne. And while this Rutilius hastid hym towarde the floodde as he was commaunded of Metellus. Bomylchar set his company in order & array still & quietly as the mater and case requyred. And in meane tyme he forgot nat to serche by espies what Metellus dyd / and what way Rutilius toke to ward the sayd floodde: and in what maner he behaued hymselfe & gyded his army. Wherefore after he vnderstode by his espies that Rutilius with his company had taken their place by the sayd floodde where he wold abyde: and was boyde of helynes / quyet / and doutyng no parill. And on the other syde whan he vnderstode that the cry of the batayle bytwene Jugurth & Metellus encreased: he feared lest Rutilius (if he vnderstode therof) wolde leue his place by the floodde: and resortune to the batayle to socour his felowes which were in leopardy. In this consideration Bomylchar: where as before he had ordered his army nere togyder by craft and that bycause he mistrusted the courage of his men: and in their boldnesse had no great confidence. Therefore nowe agayne he deuyded them a brode moche larger than they were before: and so proceeded towarde the tentes of Rutilius / to chintent to lette hym and his company on euery syde / if they prepared towarde resous of Metellus. Rutilius and his company suspectyng no perill sodaynly of vnware aduysed great byolence of smoke and duste styred vp and rayled by moupnge of the ground: but what it myght be they coude nat perceyue by any mane bycause of the thicke nelle of the ponge trees that grewe on all the grounde bytwene them which letted their syght. First of all they thought it had proceeded of dyntes of the ground by moupnge of the wynde. But afterwarde whan they sawe the same smoke and dust contynue still after one maner: and that the same approached alway nerer and nerer lyke wyse as the company of their ennemies moued and drew toward them. Then they perceyued and knewe the mater as it was: and in all hast euery man toke to hym his harnesse: and stode redy before the defence of their tētes as their captayne Rutilius had ordered and commaunded them euery man redy at desce and in aray. After whan their ennemies approached nerer with an horrible noyse and cry / they ranne togyder on bothe parties.

**I**nterea bomilchar / quē elipiantis et parti copiarū pedestrū presecum a Jugurtha supra diximus: ubi cum Rutilius pretergressus est: paulatim suos in equum locum deducit: ac dum legatus ad flumen quo premissus erat / festinās pergit: quicquid res postulat ab aciem instruit: neque remittit explorare: quid ubique hostis ageret.

Postquam Rutilium consedisse iam, et aio vacuū esse accepit: simulque Jugurthæ ex prælio clamorem augeri ueritus ne legatus cognita re laborantibus suis auxilio foret: aciem quamdiu uidentis uirtuti militum arcte statuerat, quo hostium itinere officeret, latius porrigit.

Eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit. Romani ex iprouiso pulueris uim magnam aduertunt. Nam prospectū ager arbuscū cōstit prohibebat.

Et primo humū rati sunt aridam vento agitari. Post ubi æquabilem manere: sicuti acies mouebatur: magis magisque appropinquare uidebant: cognita rei properantes arma capiunt: ac pro castris (sicuti imperatur) consistunt.

Deinde ubi propius ventum est: utrimque magno clamore concurrunt.



## The batayle

Nam idē tantūmodo sūt remorati dū in eliphantis auxilium putāt: postq̄ eos impeditos ramis arborum atque ita distictos circūueniri vident: fugam faciunt: ac plerique abiectis armis collis aut noctis quæ iam adeerat auxilio integri abeunt. elephanti quatuor capti: reliqui oēs numero quadraginta interfecti sunt.

At romani q̄ itinere atque opere castrorū et pressio fessis lassique erant: tñ q̄ Metellus amplius opatione morabatur instruiti / intentique obuiam procedunt.

Nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi neque remissi patiebarur.

Ac primo obscura nocte postq̄ haud procul inter se erant strepitu velut hostes aduentare: alteri apud alteros formidinem simul et tumultum facere: et pene imprudentia admissum facinus miserabile foret: ni utrimque præmissi equites rem explorauissent.

Igitur pro metu repente gaudium exhortum est.

Milites alius alium læti appellant: acta edocent: atque audiunt: sua quisque sortita facta ad celum efferunt.

Quippe humane res ita se habent: in victoria etiam ignaui gloriari licet: aduersæ res etiam detrahiunt bonos.

The Numidians dyd but onely cōtinue the skirmysh the abydinge & loking after their elyphantes in helpe of whome was all their trust. But whan they sawe that their elyphantes were stopped & lette with thychenesse of the bowes of the treis: and so tarped & kept from their socours by the cōpassyng of the romayns so that in them was no trust of socours. Than all they toke them to flyght with all their power. But many of the (leuyng their armour behynde them) escaped without wounde by helpe of the hylls whych were about the place: whitch they coude better & quicklyer ascende than the romayns. And also by socour of the darknesse of the nyght (whitch than was at hande) many of them escaped hole & sounde and saued them selfe. Foure of the elyphantes were taken and all the remenāt (fourty in nombze) were slayne. Whan this was done: the cōpany of Rutilius / nat withstandyng that they were fatigate and werped with great tourneis befoze / and also with moche labour in orderyng of their tentes: & with the sayd batayle or skirmysh: neuertheles whan they sawe that Metellus their chefe captayne tarped longer than they thought he wold haue done yf all thyng had happened well with hym / they ordered them selfe redy & diligently went backwarde agayne to mete hym. For the falshode and gyle of Jugurth and of the Numidians caused them to be bely / dilige / and circumspect in euery thyng for sauegard of their luyes / & suffred them to do nothyng slouly nor with delapeng. But whan they were in their tourney in the darknesse of the nyght the compaynes on both parties were nat fare in sondze the one from the other: and bothe parties approched togyder nat knowyng eche other as if they had ben ennemies. The one agaynst the other making noyse and clamour eche one increasyng feare to other as warryours at wont to do at begynnnyng of a batayle. In somoch that a miserable destruction & murther had almost ben comitted bytwene them by their imprudent negligence: if the espyes and hoysmen whiche were sent bytwene them on bothe sydes had nat with moze diligece & wyselyer espyed the treuth of the mater. But whan the parties knewe eche other / their sadnes and feare tourned to great ioye & gladnesse. The souldyours ioyfully anone met togyder one salutyng & welcomyng other. One shewed to other their actes done on bothe parties: and ioyous they were to here on bothe sydes euery man commending & exaltynge their owne dedes / and also the dedes of other vnto heuen with myghte & gladnesse. And that as well such as were worthy men as vnworthy cowardys ascribbed to them selfe worthynesse. And certes in such busynesse it often happeneth / that on that syde whitch hath the victorie: suche as be but cowardes!

cowardes / rude and vnecrafty / exalteth them / entopeth / and  
may boſt themſelfe on other mennes debes and worthynesse.  
But in contrary wyſe on that partie which is ouercom though  
many be good warryours / noble & worthy men : yet at they  
reputed for coward / without policy / bycause of other mennes  
cowardye & aduerſyte of fortune. Thus ſareth it in ſkirmyſ-  
ſhes of bataple. But whan Metellus & Rutilius (as I haue  
ſayd befoze) were mette togyder and reherſed their actes one  
to other Metellus haſted hym withall his army to the flood  
of Routhull / and tarped in the places & tentes whiche Ruti-  
lius had prepared & ſeourned there the ſpace of foure dayes.  
In this ſeaſon he was beſy in reſtreſſyng & healyng his ſou-  
dyours whiche were wounded / ſuche as manly had behaued  
themſelfe in the bataple he worthely rewarded them / he called  
them togyder all into one cōpany and greatly lauded & com-  
mended them : thankyng & moch prayſyng them for the great  
dylgēce / payne / and laboꝝ : whiche they had taken in defence  
of the honour & dignite of their empire with ſuche wordes.

¶ Worthy ſoudyours ye ſe nowe that the hardeſt of our la-  
bour is ouerpalled by your boldneſſe and manhode : wherfoꝝ  
re I exhort you : be ye of lyke courage in the reſpydue of our be-  
ſynneſſe / whiche ſhalbe but lyght & eaſy in comparyſon of this  
which is ouerpalled. The begynnyng and fiſt bzunt of eue-  
ry beſynneſſe is hardeſt. Whiche ſhall be but lyght vnto bolde  
and circūſpect begynniers & conſtant folowers of their enter-  
priſes. But this begynnyng ye haue manly ouercome by con-  
ſtant labour as thynge moſt eaſy. ynough haue we foughten  
all redy for the gloꝝie of victory : for that haue we optayned in  
this fiſt coſtlyer. If we labour or fight any moze it ſhalbe but  
onely for prayes and robberies of our ennemies : wherby we  
ſhalbe entyched in ſubſtance : lyke as we nowe be inhaunced  
with gloꝝie of victory. Wherfoze my dere ſelowes & moſt con-  
ſtant ſcendes of the cōmen welth nowe I exhort you for cōple-  
ment of all your honozable fame : to remēbeꝝ your olde & acu-  
ſtomed worthynneſſe. And ſuffre nat this excellent honoure &  
gloꝝie which ye haue nowe optayned by boldnes : to be quen-  
ched and decay agayne by ignomyious cowardye.

¶ With ſuche wordes & many other lyke Metellus reconfoꝝ-  
ted his cōpany : & maruelouſly kyndled their courage to the  
deſyre of honour by valyant feates of armes. But in y meane  
ſeaſon the knowne gyle of Jugurth went nat from his mynd :  
and therfoze to exlude all danger of treaſon he ſent forth cer-  
tayne of the Numidiens / which betraynge Jugurth had for-  
ſaken hym & fled to the romayns : & alſo with the he ſent forth  
dyuerſe other of his owne company which were expect of the

Jugurth.

D. 1.

Metellus in iſſidē caſtris  
quattiduo moratus : ſau-  
cios cum cura reſicit : me-  
ritos in prelijs more mi-  
litie donat : vnuerſos in  
contione laudat : atque a-  
git gratias

hortatur / ad cetera quæ  
leuia ſunt / parem animū  
gerant :

Pro victoria ſatis ſā pu-  
gnatum : reliquos labo-  
res prædæ fore.

Tum interim trāſſugant  
et alios oportunos : vbi  
Jugurtha gentium : aut  
quid ageret : cum pauciſ  
ne eſſet : an exercitum ha-  
beret : vt ſe ſe victus geres  
ret : exploratum miſit.



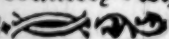
## The batayle

At ille sese in loca saltu-  
osa et munita natura re-  
ceperat: ibique cogebat  
exercitum numero homi-  
num ampliore: sed he-  
betem infirmumque: agri  
ac pecoris magis q̄ belli  
cultorem.

Id ea gratia eueniebat:  
q̄ præter regios equites  
nemo omnium Numidarum  
ex fuga regem sequebat̃.  
Quo cuiusq̄ animus fert  
eo descendunt: neque id  
flagitium militiæ ducis:  
ita se mores habent.

**I**gitur Metellus ubi vi-  
det regis etiam tum an-  
imum ferocem esse: bel-  
lum renouari: quod nisi  
ex illius libidine geri nõ  
posset:

Præterea iniquum certa-  
men sibi cum hostibus: mi-  
nore detrimento illos vi-  
ci q̄ vincere: statuit non  
præliis neque in acie: sed  
alio modo bellum esse ge-  
rendum.

countrey/and oportune to suche besynesse to serche and espye  
among what people or in what place Jugurth held hymselfe:  
and wherein he was occupped. Whyther he kept hym w a small  
company: or whyther he had an army reasssembled for a newe  
batayle/and how he behaued hymselfe & where about he went  
syth he was ouercome. But Jugurth had conuayed hymselfe  
into such places as were full of dycheffe/baleis/hylles/treis/  
bushes/& dales defended of nature. And there had he assem-  
bled agayne a newe army of men/mo in nõbre than he had be-  
foze. But they were but vncraftie/inepert/and dull to batell:  
and coude better tyll the grounde and kepe beestes/than exerce  
cple the dedes of chualtry. For thereto had they neuer ben bled  
befoze: but in the other scruple ocupaciõs & besynesse had they  
ben occupped all their lystyme without intermirtion of other  
ocupacion. It fortunied that Jugurth had none other soudy-  
ours/ but suche rurall people about hym at this tyme namely  
for this cause. For whan he fled from the batayle foughten be-  
foze with Metellus/none of all his soudyours folowed hym/  
except the hoysmen of his garde. For all the other soudyours  
departed where it lyked them best. For this is nat couẽted noz  
reputed for any faute or rebuke among the Numidyens sou-  
dyours. For suche is the custome of the countrey: whan the  
capitayne fleeth the hoost forsaketh hym. 

**What wast and destruction Metellus made in  
the lande of Numidy after this first batayle and flyght of  
Jugurth: and of the gyle of Jugurth agaynst Me-  
tellus.**  
**The. xxxiii. chapter.**

**W**hā Metellus vnderstode by his espyes  
that the mynde of Jugurth cõtinueed yet styll in  
his olde fyerfynesse & crueltie though he was la-  
tely ouercome in batayle. And whan Metellus  
sawe that Jugurth renewed the warre agayne  
and prepared a newe batayle whiche coude nat be done but at  
pleasure of Jugurth/ bycause he had taken suche a place to  
abvde in that no man coude cõueniently cõtende with hym for  
dyfficultie therof. Metellus thus knowyng aduised hymselfe  
of many thynges. Namely he consydered that they were nat in  
different & egall on bothe parties in exrecutyng therof. For all  
ys that he had the bypper hand ouer Jugurth & had put hym to  
flyght: yet lost he mo men and had moze dāmage in ouerco-  
myng hym/ than Jugurth had whiche was ouercome. For  
this consyderacion Metellus purposed no moze to contende  
with hym in playne feldes noz in ordered batayle/ but by an

other maner to execute the warre with hym from then forth.  
This determynd: Metellus with his hole hoost and ordynance went forth into the moost ryche and plentyfull places of all Numidy and there wasted and destroyed the felde & countrey on euery syde. He toke without any resistance castles and townes / nat strongly defended with walles / dyche / nor garnyson. And hent and bete them downe to the grounde.

All suche as came in his way and were able to bere harnesse: full grown of age or apt to batayle: he slewe and ryd out of hande. Thynkyng that the mo he slewe the fewer aduersaries and enemies shulde he haue to contende agaynst hym. He commaunded his souldyours to spare no robbery nor prayes: but gaue althynge to hauocke among his souldyours.

For feare of this crueltie many of the Numidyens yelded themselves to the romayns: and gaue vnto them hostages / bytays / souldyours / and all other thynges necessary abundantly. In some townes whiche were taken: Metellus sette defence and garnyson where nede requyred and fortified them sufficiently. This helpe troubled the mynd of Jugurth moche more than the batayle that was foughten before to his great dammage and discomfote of his men. For he lost more people by this way than by any other meane before. Thus Jugurth whiche before put all his hope and trust in his slyght: was nowe of necessity compelled to folowe and pursue his enemies: and he whiche coude nat defende his owne places whiche still remayned in his possession: was constrained nowe to warre in those countres whiche Metellus had wonne of hym to recouer them yf fortune wolde suffice hym. Nevertheless of suche pooze shyft and counsell as he had he toke the best which coude be taken by his aduise in suche extreme necessity. He commaunded his army for the most part to remayne still in the same place where they were. And he hymselfe with a company of horsemen whiche were bolde and chosen men ensued Metellus pruely / making his iourneys by nyght tyme by / by wayes and secreete valeys. And at last suddenly of vnwares he fell vpon a part of the romayns which were dispersed a bryde from the hoost in foragynge and spoylinge. Many of them without armour were slayne / & many taken. None of them all escaped cleane nor fre without dammage / but ourther were slayne or els soze wounded. Whan Jugurth had done this shapelye anon he withdrewe hymselfe and his company into the hylls and mountaynes next to them: before any socours or rescous myght come from Metellus to reuenge their treason & death of the romayns.

Jugurth.

D. II.

Itaque in loca Numidia opulentissima pergit: agros vastat: castella multat et oppida temere munita aut sine presidio capit: incenditque.

Puberes interficit: iubet

dia militumque deesse

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## The batayle

**O**f the great ioy which was demeaned at Rome for this worthy behauour of Metellus: and howe he gyded hymselfe and his army to continue and augment this honour which he had gotten. **The xxxiiii. chapyter.**

**I**nterim Rome gaudium ingens ortum est cognitum Metelli rebus ut se exercitumque more maiorum gereret.

**¶** In aduerso loco tñ victor fuisse virtute hostium agro potiretur.

**I**ugurtham magnificum ex Auli secordia y spem salutis insolitudine aut fuga coegit habere.

**I**taque senatus ob ea feliciter acta dijs immortalibus supplicia decerneret. Ciuitas atrea trepida et sollicita de belli euentu letata agere.

**F**ama de Metello preclara esse. Igitur eo intentior Metellus ad victoriam niti omnibus modis: festinare cauere: tñ necubi hosti oportunus lieret.

**M**eminisse post gloriam inuidiam sequi: ira quo clarior eo magis anxius erat: neque post insidias Iugurthæ effuso exercitu prædari.



**W**hyle Metellus and Iugurth stryued thus togyder: the one with manhode/wysdome & strength: the other with treason/craft & gyle: Cōpynges were brought to Rome of this noble behauour of Metellus.ouer all the cite was demeaned great ioye & gladnes for that Metellus behaued hymselfe & gyded his army acorpyng to þ maner & ordinaunce of olde noble capitayns of the romayns before his days. And howbeit he was in place aduers & contrary to hym yet had he the upper hande of his enemies as victorie ouer them. And by his strength & manhode he had in possession the countrey of his enemies: & had dyuen them from place to place. All these thyngs cōpyred: they moch reioyced & greatly cōmended Metellus: namely for that he had caused Iugurth to put his trust of helth onely in slepyng into the moystayns & wyldernesse/whiche before was magnificent & proude by the fear & cowardyse of Aulus predecessour of Metellus. Wherefore for these fortynat & glorious dedes of Metellus/ the senatours decreed and cōmaunded ouer all the cite sacrifices & suffrages to be done to their ydolles. The citeyngs whiche before were ferefull & sore troubled doutyng the vnshure chaunce & incertayne fortune of the ende of this warre: demened now amonge them myrthe and gladnesse ouerall. The honour & fame of Metellus was reioyced very noble/excellent & glorious in euery mannes mouth. Wherefore he somoche was the more dyligent and laboured more besely to warde the byctore laboringe & hastynge to synyshe the warre by all meanes & wayes so it might be to his honour & cōfusiō of Iugurth. But neuertheles he was well ware from puttyng hymselfe in danger of his enemies: and was ware exchypnge oportunitie of their gyle in euery place where he went. He remembred well & cōpyred that often after laude & glorie foloweth enuy & euylwyl. And therfore howe moche more noble that he was reputed: the more besy & dyligent he was to mentayne his fame & honour/ & in drede to lose this worthy fame which he had optayned. For after the forelaid gyle of Iugurth he suffred nat his hoost to deuide nor to departe themselves dyspersed one from other: nor to make ex-

courses to forage oꝝ spoyle in diuers places far dyſtant in ſonoye. But whan they had nede outhet of mannes meate oꝝ hoſemcate: all the hoſemen with great cōpanyes of the foꝝemen/ went foꝝthe & kept them nere about ſuche as were ſende foꝝthe to make prouiſion to defende and ſocout them: if nede ſhulde requyre. Metellus hymſelfe deuꝝded his hoſt in two partes: the one part he kept with hymſelfe: & the other he comꝝitted to a noble warriour of his hoſt named Marius: by tꝝwene them both they dyſtroyd & waſted the contrey on euery ſyde/ but rather with fire than wꝝ robbꝝy oꝝ prayes. Metellus & Marius ſet their tentes in two places nat far diſtāt in ſonoye. But whan any perꝝilous oꝝ nedy beſynneſſe was to be done wꝝ Jugurth oꝝ his cōpany whiche requyꝝed great myght: than anone Metellus & Marius were redy togyꝝder: but they kept themſelfe thus in ſonder in dyꝝuerſe places to trouble the Numidiꝝes/ and increaſe their feare moꝝe largely in euery coꝝſt: & to make them fle and auoꝝpde fꝝr abrode in compaſſe foꝝ fear. ¶ At this ſeaſon Jugurth enſued by the hyꝝles and deſert places ſekyng and eſpyꝝng a conuenient ſeaſon oꝝ place to make ſome ſpyꝝmpſe with the romayns (that is to ſay) if he couꝝd eſpy any parcell of them ſekyng foꝝth fountayns of water foꝝ the army of the which was moꝝch penury in thoſe coſtes. If he myght any ſuch eſpy than anone wold he bꝝeke downe fꝝm the hyꝝles vpon them. Somtyme he ſheꝝwed hymſelfe to Metellus/ ſomtyme to Marius/ ſomtyme he wold aſſemble his cōpany togyꝝder in a bend as if he wold ſyght with the romayns to attꝝpt them/ & anone aſt wold he retourne agayne vnto the mountaynes. And after warde ſodenly appere agayne thꝝetnyng nowe the one cōpany of the romayns/ & nowe the other. yet wold he neyther aucture batayle noꝝ ſuffre neyther the romayns to be yꝝdle oꝝ in reſt/ noꝝ yet hymſelfe. His mynde was onely ſette to keꝝpe his ennemys from their begynnyng & purpoſe of diſtroyꝝng of the countrey whiche they intended.

**C**howe Metellus beſyeged Samam one of the ſtrongeſt townes of Numidy: and howe Marius vnder captayne of Metellus eſcaped the danger of Jugurth. ¶ The. xxxv. chapter.

**W**han Metellus ſawe hym ſelfe ſo weꝝtyꝝed with the gyles and craftes of Jugurth/ and that by no policy he couꝝd haue faculty oꝝ tyme to fight with hym in playne batayle: at laſt he cōcluded to beſyge & aſſaꝝle a great towne named Samam/ whiche was the moſt cheſe & ſtrongeſt holde of Jugurth.

Sed vbi frumento aut pabulo opus erat: cohortes cum omni equitatu praefidium agebant. Exercitus partē ipse reliquos Marius ducebat: sed igne magis qꝫ praeda ager vastabatur.

Duobus locis haud longē iter se castra faciebāt. Vbi vi opus erat: cuncti aderant: ceterū quo iuga atque formido latius creſceret: diuſi agebant.

Eo tēpore Jugurtha per colles ſequi: rēſs aut locum pugnae quaerere: quā venturum hoſtem audierat/ pabulum aut aquarū fontes (quorum penuria erat) corrumpere. modo se Metello: iterdū Mario oſtendere: poſtremo in agmine rētare: ac ſtatim in colles regredi.

Rurfus alijs poſt alijs militari: neque prelium facere: neque octum pati. tantummodo hoſtem ab incepto retinere.

**R**omaniſ Imperator/ vbi ſe dolis fatigari videt: neque ab hoſte copiam pugrandi fieri: urbem magnam et ſua parte qua ſita erat/ ar-



## The batayle

cem regni nomine Zamā  
statuit oppugnare: ratus  
(id quod negotium postu-  
labat) Jugurtham labo-  
rantibus suis auxilio vene-  
runt: ibi que preliū fore.  
At ille / que parabantur  
edoctus a perfugis mag-  
nis itineribus Metellum  
anteuenit:

oppidanos hortatus mor-  
tia defendat: additis au-  
xilio perfugis / quod ge-  
nus ex copiis regis (quia  
fallere nequibat) fortis-  
simū erat.  
Præterea pollicetur in tē-  
pore semet cum exercitu  
assere.

Ita cōpositis rebus in loca  
q̄ maxime occulta de-  
scendit: ac post paulo co-  
gnoscit ex itinere Mari-  
um frumētatum cū pau-  
cis cohortibus Siccā mis-  
sū: quod oppidum primū  
omnium post malam pug-  
nam ab rege decesserat.  
Ito cum delectis equitibus  
pergit noctu: et egredien-  
tibus Romanis in porta  
pugnam facit. Simul ma-  
gna voce Siccenses hor-  
tatur ut cohortes a ter-  
go circumueniant: fortune  
nam illis præclari faci-  
noris casū dare si id fece-  
rint: postea sese in regno:  
illos in libertate sine me-  
tu aratē acturos.  
At ut Marius signa infer-  
re: atque euadere oppido  
propterauisset: profecto  
cuncti (aut magna pars)  
Siccensium fidem muta-  
uissent. Tanta mobilita-  
te sese Numidæ gerunt.

all the realme of Numidie in that part of the lande where it  
was buylded. And so sped hym thyder with all his army and  
ordynance where the sayd holde was (thynkyng as the mater  
requyred) that Jugurth wolde drawe thyder for defence of  
his chiefe towne and for socour and relese of his people and so  
shulde the batayle be there foughten bytwene them. But whā  
Metellus was in his iourney thyderwarde / anone were cer-  
tain of his army which fled to Jugurth and certified hym of  
this prouision and interprise of Metellus. Whan Jugurth  
herof was certified he hasted hym by gret iournels so that he  
ouerpast the cōpany of Metellus and came to the towne of  
zamā befoze hym: & there exhorted the inhabitantes boldly  
to defende the walles. And farthermore assigned to socour &  
helpe them all suche as had fled from the romayns / and had  
brought hym those tidyngs. These treatours were the surest  
men whiche Jugurth had. For they coude nat dysceyue hym /  
but if they wolde yelde them agayne to the romayns whome  
they had forsaken and betrayed which thyng was nat sure to  
them to do. Whan Jugurth had ioyned these souldyours to  
the garnison and socours of the towne and castell / and had or-  
dred & apoynted all other thynges acorɔyng to his mynde:  
than he promysed to be there agayne with them with all his  
hole army in tyme of nede. This done he departed from the  
towne into the most prey & secret places which he knewe in  
his countrey therby. But whan Metellus was in his iourney  
to warde zamā / he sende Marius for prouision of whete and  
other corne & viayle for the army vnto a towne named Sic-  
ca / whiche was the first towne that forsoke Jugurth & was  
yelded to Marius after the batayle late foughten with Ju-  
gurth to his great damage. Whan Jugurth had knowledge  
herof he went thyder by nyght priuely with his elect souldy-  
ers so that whan Marius had sped his matters & was redy to de-  
parte forth of the towne: Jugurth was redy at the gates to  
assayle the romayns cruelly cryeng with a hye voyce to them  
of the towne & exhortyng them to assayle the romayns also  
on the backe halfe: sayng that fortune had offred to them the  
chauce of a noble act / of an excellent & glorious dede: so that  
(yf they wolde folowe his desyre) they shulde restore hym  
agayne into his kyngdome & themselves into their libertie and  
from then forth passe their tyme without peryll / without dan-  
ger or drede. And certaynely if Marius had nat boldly and  
strongly broken out of the towne with his standerdes & men  
of armes throughe the thickest of his ennemies whiche were  
in the gates. All they of the towne or the most part wolde haue  
broken theyr oth and promesse / whiche they had made befoze

to Metellus whan they first yelded themselves and the cite to hym. The myndes of the Numidiens be so biffedfast and mouable. But Jugurth so comforted his souldoyers that they respysted the romayns a lyrell season. But whā Marius and his company began to encrease their violence agaynst the Jugurthyns and moze fiercely to prease vpon them. Amonge some were slayne and the respysted fled with their maister Jugurth. This daunger ouertpassed: Marius departed thens towarde the towne of zaman/ and at the last came thyder safe with all his cōpany and besynesse sped wherfoze he was sene.

**T**his Samam was a towne blydd in the playne grounde without hylles or waters nere it defended rather by h warke of mannes hande/ than by nature of the place. In it layed nothyng necessary to batayle. For it was well garnished both with men / ordynauce / vitayls / and armour. Amonge whan Marius was come: Metellus acordynge to the tyme and place made redy all thynges necessary and compassed the walles on euery syde w his army: assignynge to euery one of his vndercapitayns a separate place of the towne to assaile and there to do his deuoyze and shewe his manhode. Whan euery thyng was thus ordred Metellus commaunded to sounde to the assaut with trumpettes and clatrons. The romayns immediatly assailed the towne on euery syde w hoze cyble noyse & clamoure. The Numidiens therof were nat a drazd at all: but abode still and kept themselves in sylence as if they had nat ben displeased nor prouoked to batayle: howe best they kept the walles euery man on the part to hym assigned & all were redy to respyst & to assaile the romayns. Amonge the batayle was begone. The romayns exersyced and occupied themselves euery man w suche weppyn as he coude best handle and was most expert in: some with synges thure plummettes of leed / and some stones from a farre into the cyte / and at them whiche defended the walles / some assailed the towne nerer inuadyng the same / and couetyng to haue entre and by detemnyng the walles / some boldly escaled walles desirynge to come so nere that they myght fyght hande to hand. On the other syde the inhabitants of the towne and garnyson respysted manly. Some rowled downe and ouertourned great & weyghy stones on suche as were nere to them / and that by detemnyng the walles. Some pyched downe vpon them dautes / lauelys / pykes / firebrandes: and also great brennyng polles / faggottes / and blockys ouercouered with pytche and brestone ardenly flampng. Some boldly ouertourned the scalyng ladders and slewe & ouerthure suche as scaled the walles:

Sed milites Jugurthini paulisper a rege sustentati postq̄ maiore vi hostes vrgēt paucis amissis profugi discedunt.

Marius ad Zammam puenit.

Id oppidum in campo situm / magis opere q̄ natura munitum erat / nullius rei idonee egens / armis viris que opulentum.

Igitur Metellus pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus cuncta menta exercitu circūuenit. Legatis imperat vbi quisque curaret.

Denique signo dato / vndiq̄ simul clamor ingens oritur: neque ea res Numidas terret: insensim / instantiq̄ sine tumultu manent: praelium incipitur.

Romani pro igenio quisque: pars eminus glade aut lapidibus pugnare: alij inuadere: ac murum suffodere: modo scalis agredi: cupere praliū manibus facere.

Cōtra ea oppidani in proximis saxa voluere: fudes / pila / praterea pice et sulphure tedam mixtam ardenti mittere.



## The batayle

*Sed nec illos qui procul  
manferant timor animi  
satis munerat. Nā ple-  
rosque iacula tormentis  
aut manibus emissa vul-  
nerabant. Parique peri-  
culo: sed fama impari: bo-  
ni atque ignauierant.*

But some other whiche were farther from the towne and fez  
pzease coude nat appzoche nere to the walles in the meane seas-  
son were nother fearfull nor ydell. For there was no maner  
instrument of batayle whiche coude be thzowen with hande /  
or with any other ingyne of batayle: but that they thzue it into  
the towne / wherewith they wounded and slewe many of the  
inhabitantes and of the defenders of the walles. The dartes  
and crofbowes on bothe parties were nat vnoctupped. Arrels-  
lerp nor gonnes had they none. For at that tyme was no  
mencion of them nor they were nat yet inuent. The romayns  
whiche were farthest of all from the walles escaped nat free: but  
with dartes were ouerthrowen in great nombze. Howebeit  
their cowardous and fearfull myndes caused them to drawe  
themselve a louse behynde all other for to saue themselve / yet  
coude they nat auoyde the payll. Thus were the wezthy and  
vnwozthy of the romayns in lyke scopardy and payll: but  
their glozy and fame was moche vn'pke.

Howe Jugurth assayed and inuaded the ten-  
tes of the romayns in the meantyme whyle Me-  
tellus gaue assaut to the towne of zammam.

### The xxxvi. chaptyer.

**D**Um apud zammam  
succurratur: Iugur-  
tha ex improviso ca-  
stra hostium cum magna  
manu invadit (remissis  
qui in presidio erant) et  
omnia magisq̃ prelium  
expectantibus portam ir-  
rumpit.

At nostri repentino mo-  
tu percussis: sibi quisque  
pro moribus consulunt:  
alii fugere: alij arma ca-  
pere: magna pars vulnes-  
rati aut occisi sunt.

Ceterum ex omni multi-  
tudine non amplius qua-  
draginta memores nomi-  
nis romani: grege facto:  
locum capere paulo q̃ a-  
lii editiorem: neque inde



whyle the assaut contynued thus at  
zammam / with great murdze & destruction  
on both parties: Jugurth suddenly and of vn-  
ware stole downe from the mountaynes  
where he was hyd / and with a great power  
of men assailed & invaded the romayns ten-  
tes whyle the souldyours whome Metellus  
had assygned to the warde & defence of them were within the  
same at their rest: and suspecting nothing lesse than any suche  
assaut. Wherefore Jugurth brake in vpon them vnprovyded.  
The romayns were soze abashed of that sudden feare. And  
euery man provided for hymselfe / accordyng to his maners  
and dysposicion. Some whiche were cowardes fled with all  
their myght / some other valiant and bolde hearted men drew  
to their harnes and manly withstode their ennemys. A cuer-  
thelesse the moost parte of them all were / further wounded or  
slayne. But among all the company and of all the multitude  
of them were no moze but .xl. men whiche abode. These .xl.  
acompanied themselve togyder remembryng the woꝛthyp of  
the empire of Rome / and toke a place a lytell aboue their en-  
nemys: whiche place they defended so manly that they coude

nat be druen from it by moche violence of their enemies /  
agaynst whome they thue dartes from a far. And suche dar-  
tes as their enemies thue at them: they thue þ same agayn.  
So they beynge but a fewe agaynst so many dyd nothyng in  
bayne. For they coude throwe no dart / but that it lyghted a-  
mong the thickest of them. But so coude nat their enemies  
do agaynst them. For they were so fewe: so nere togyder: & on  
so sure a place that their enemies myght lytell thyng preuayle  
agaynst them. But whan the Numidiens approached nether to  
them: than specially these. xl. baliat romayns shewed and  
bestowed thier manhode & strength w most excellent courage  
assapling their enemies: ouerthrowing & chasping them backe  
warde by very force & strength. ¶ In the meane tyme whyle  
Metellus was most of all occupied and besyed in the forsayd  
assaut of samam: sodenly he herde behynde hym a great cla-  
mour & noyse of people. Anone he retrayned his horse: and in  
tourneyng backe perceyued great cōpanyes of men cōnyng  
toward hym: wherby he well knewe that they were of his  
owne people & cōpany. But whā he vnderstode all the chauce  
which was be fallen. Anone in all hast he sent all the hole com-  
pany of his hoysmen vnto his tentes: & soone after he sent thy-  
der also his chife vndercaptayne Caius Marius with his re-  
tinue & company to hym assigned. And soze wepyng he obt-  
red exhorted / and besought hym for all loue & frendshipp: and  
for honour of þ cōmen wayle / that he wolde nat suffre any dis-  
worshipp or cōtumely remayne in the romayns that day whi-  
che euerytherto had ben victoridous and ouercorners with  
great laude and honour: and that he wolde nat suffre their en-  
nemy Iugurth and his cōpany to depart away vntreuged.  
Marius dyd the cōmaundemēt of Metellus and that shortly.  
But in the meane season Iugurth perceyued many of the ke-  
pers of the tentes fallen into the dyches that were made about  
the same for defence: so that for hast to come away they hurt  
themselve moze / than he dyde. Iugurth aduysing their daun-  
ger cōspyd that hymselfe was lykely to be let vnder the sa-  
me maner yf he auentured ouer farre. And therfore he depart-  
ed betyme into the surest places that he coude deuyse nere by  
leapunge many of his men behynder outher deed or mortally  
wounded. Thus was Marius frustrat of his labour: for Iu-  
gurth was fled before he came to the tentes. But Metellus  
(without any thyng brought to ende at samā) whā the nyght  
drew nere: retourned with his hoost into his tentes. On the  
next morn after / before he retourned agayne to the assaut of  
saman: he cōmaunded all the cōpany of his hoysmen to course  
by and downe before their tentes on that syde wher they sup-

maxima vi depelli quine-  
runt:

Sed tela eminus missa re-  
mittere: pauci in plurib⁹  
frustrari.

Sin Numidæ propius ac-  
cessissent: ibi vero virtus  
rem ostenderet: eos ma-  
xima vi cedere: fundere:  
atque fugare.

Interim Metellus cum a-  
cetrime rem gereret: cla-  
morem a tergo recepit.

Deinde conuerso equo / a  
nimaduertit fugam ad se-  
versum fieri: quæ res in-  
dicabat populares esse.

Igitur equitatum omni-  
ad castra properare misit:  
ac statim Caium Marium  
cum cohortibus sociorū.  
eumque lachrimans per  
amicitiā: perque rem pu-  
blicam obsecrat: ne quam  
contumeliā remanete in  
exercitu vidore: neue ho-  
stes inultos abire sinat.

Ille breui mādāta efficit.  
At Iugurtha munimen-  
to castrorum impeditus  
cum alijs super vallū præ-  
cipitarentur: alijs in an-  
gustijs ipsi sibi properan-  
tes officerent: multis as-  
missis: in loca munita se-  
se recipit.

Metellus / infecto nego-  
cio: postq̃ nox aderat: i ca-  
stra cum exercitu reuers-  
titur. Igitur postero die  
priusq̃ ad oppugnandum  
egredietur: equitatum  
omni in ea parte: qua re-



## The batayle

his aduētus erat: pro cas-  
tris agitare iubet: por-  
tas et proxima loca tri-  
banis dispergit: deinde ip-  
se pergit ad oppidum: at-  
que uti superiore die mu-  
rū aggreditur. Interim  
Iugurtha ex occulto res-  
pente nostros inuadit: et  
qui in proximo locati es-  
sant paulatim territi: p̄tur-  
bantur: tamen reliqui cis-  
to subueniunt. Neque  
diutius Numidæ resistes-  
se quiuissent: ni pedites  
cum equitibus permixti  
magnam cladem in cons-  
gressu facerent: quib⁹ il-  
li treti non (uti ineq̄es-  
stri fieri prælio solet) ses-  
qui: deinde vero cedere:  
sed aduersis equis cōcur-  
rere: implicare: ac prur-  
bare aciem.

**I**ta cum expeditis pedi-  
tibus suis hostes pene vi-  
ctos dare.

**E**odem tempore apud  
Zammam magna vi-  
certabatur. Vbi quis-  
que legat⁹ aut tribunus  
curabat: ibi acerrime ni-  
sineque alius spē in alio  
magis q̄ in se habere.

posed Iugurth wolde come to socour his people. The entres  
into the tentes and places nere to them he commytted and de-  
uided to warde of his vnder capitayns. After that he retour-  
ned agayne to the towne and fierly assaylyd the walles in  
lyke maner as he had done the day before.

**I**n the meane season Iugurth agayne sodenly stale vpon  
the romayns: & specially on them which coursed before the ten-  
tes: they whiche wey next hym & whose he encountred first of all  
were a lytell tyme soze troubled & abashed: but the remenant  
of the romayns lyghtly assembled their socours. And so va-  
lyantly behaued themselfe that the Numidyens shuld nat long  
haue cōtinued the skyrmysh: if their fotemen myngled with  
the romayns hoysmen had nat in the mydell commytted great  
mylchefe and destruction. For the hoysmen of Iugurth tru-  
sting to y<sup>e</sup> helpe of these fotemen which wey myngled among  
them: dyd nat first procede forwarde auaucing themselfe and  
than retourne backe agayne as the vse is in a batayle of spere  
men. But they ran in makynge incourses among the thychest  
of the romayns ouerthwart and spdeling: infoldyng & dow-  
blyng theyr courses: and cōtendyng to trouble & dysorder the  
array and order of the forwarde and wynges of the romayne  
hoost. In somoche that what with the Numidyens on horse-  
backe & with them on fote it lacked but lytell: but the romans  
were confounded and ouercome in that greuous conflict.

**B**ut here wyl I leue the hoysmen of the romans fightyng  
for their lyues and honour agaynst Iugurth and his spere-  
men. And now shall I declare howe Metellus the chefe  
capitayn of the romayns behaued hymselfe with his hoost in  
the assaut of zammam.

**H**ow Metellus behaued himself for his part &  
of the great cōflicte which the romayns had aga-  
ynst the Numidyans: Metellus with his fotmē  
assaylinge the towne of zammam for the one part:  
and Iugurth fierly fighting with the romayns  
spere men for the other part. The. xxxvii. chap.

**I**n the same tyme whyle this skyrmysh  
the cōtinued bytwene the romans hoysmen and  
the Numidyens: whiche were with Iugurth: the  
assaut also agaynst the towne of zammam indu-  
ced with moche strengthe / violence and mur-  
der. And specially wher as Metellus had assigned his vnder

captayns on euery syde of the towne (as I haue sayd before) there cōtinued the assaut most sharply. One of them put nat his trust noz hope in other: but euery man in his owne dedes & in hymselfe. Under the same maner dyd the garnyson & inhabitantes of the towne behaue themselves: they fought manly agayne & also ordayned all thynges cōuenient for their defence in euery place of the towne. Bothe the parties were redy & more besye one to stryke & wounde other than to defende themselves. The clamoure & noyse was myxt with exhortacion and confort of some/ and the ioye of the quellars & murderers was mingled with the wailing of them which were quelled & murdered. The sounde of the arimonte/ horzious and strokes mounted to the ayre. The sky was darked with dartes fleyng on eyther syde. And the walles & dyche were dyed w blode: and fylled with deed corpes pytefull to se. But whan the Numidiens were somewhat at layser/ and whan the romayns a lytell abated & remitted the assaut: than they whiche defended the walles of the towne looked out a farre & intentifely behelde the batayle of the hozsmen which styll cōtinued. There myght one haue sene them somtyme merry & ioyous/ somtyme full of dolour & heupnesse after as they sawe the case of the part of Augurthe went forwarde or backward. And as well as they coude be sene & herde of their felowes which were with theyr kyng Augurth: some warned them to audacite/ some exhorted them to courage/ other they gaue them signes w their handes or with the iesture of their bodpes & cōtenances mouyng and exccityng them to boldnesse. If they sawe a romayne stryke a Numidyen: they moued & withdrew their bodpes auoyding the stryke as yf it had ben themselves whiche had ben stricken. And if they sawe a Numidyen cast a dart agaynst a romayne: they moued their bodpes also as they had cast it themselves. Thus toke they so intentife hede to the batayle that they forgotte themselves where they were/ and it semed them that they had ben with their felowes in batayle. Whan Marius which besyged the towne on that syde: vnderstode this maner & behauour of the inhabitants & garnyson: he abated his fierynes for policy & was more slowe in besyegging of the towne than before sayning that he had no trust noz cōfidence to wyne it and suffred the Numidiens within the towne to beholde the batayle of their kynges/ for a whyle without any respitence or besynesse. But whā he sawe them most intentifely beholdyng the batayle/ & most amased for the besynesse of their felowes & countrey men: than suddenly withall his power he gaue assaut to the walles so that many of the romayns with ladders and other ingynes/ had almost mounted vnto the hyghest part of

Pariter oppidanī agere: oppugnare: aut parare omnibus locis: audius alteri alteros sauciare/ quā semet tegere.

Clamor pmixtus hortatione: leticia: gemitu: itē strepitus armorū ad cælum ferri: tela vtrunque volare.

Sed illi qui menia defensabāt: vbi hostes paululum modo pugnam remisserant: intenti praelium equestre prospectabant. Eos ( vt quacres lugura: thæ erant ) letos modo: pauidos modo aduersiteres: ac sicuti audiri a suis aut cerni possent: admonere alij: hortari alij: aut manu significare: aut niti corporib: et huc et illuc quasi vitabundis aut iaciētes tela agitare.

Quod vbi Mario cognitum erat ( nā is in ea parte curabat ) cōsulto leuius agere: ac diffidentiam rei simulare: pati numidas sine tumultu praeliū regis visere.

Ita illis studio suorū astrictis: repente magna vimurum aggreditur: et tā scalis aggrent milites/



## The batayle

prope summa ceperant:  
cum oppidani cōcurrūt:  
lapides/ignem/alia prae-  
terea tela ingerunt.

Nostri primo resistere: de-  
inde vbi vne ac altere sca-  
la iminutæ sunt: qui sup-  
stiterant afflicti sunt.

Cæteri quoquo modo pos-  
tuere: pauci integri: ma-  
gna pars confecti: vulne-  
ribus abeūt Deide vtrin-  
que plium nox diremit.

them. The inhabitants seynge this expelled their amasednes  
remembryng themselves: and ran manly agaynst them with re-  
sistence throwyng vpon them stones/ fyre/ & all maner darteres  
of batayle. The romayns at begynnyng resysted valiantly/  
defendyng themselves and auancynge them to the walles. But  
whan the inhabitants had first ouerthrowen and broken one  
ladder/ and than ouertourned an other. They whiche abode  
last were mayned or slayne. Anone the remenant departed &  
gaue ouer the walles vnder the best maner that they coude a  
fewe or none hole. For a great part of them withdrewewe them-  
selves transfired with mortall wondes. Anone after the nyght  
fell vpon them whiche caused both the parties to desyst / and  
leue of the batayle.

**How Metellus remoued the siege from zam-  
main: & howe Bomylchar so pswaded Jugurth  
that he yelded hymselfe / his kyngdome / and all  
other thynges / to mercy & grace of the romayns.  
And howe Jugurth after losse of his men / trea-  
sour / elephantes / armour / and horse: changed his  
mynde agayne. The xxxviii. chapyter.**

**M**etellus vbi videt  
frustra inceptū: ne-  
que oppidum capi:  
neque Iugurtham niti:  
nisi ex insidijs aut suo lo-  
co pugnam facere: etiam  
estatem exartam esse: ab  
Zamma discessit: et in  
hys vrbibus quæ ad se de-  
fecerant: satisq; munite  
loco aut menibus erant:  
præsidia imponit.

Ceterum exercitum in p-  
uincia quæ proxima est  
Numidæ: hyemandi gra-  
tia collocat.

Neque id tempus ex aliis  
orum more quieti aut lu-  
xurie concessit.

Sed quoniam armis bel-  
lum parum procedebat:  
insidias regi per amicos  
tēdere: et eorum perfidia  
pro armis vti parat.



**B**ut whan Metellus sawe his pur-  
pose and labour all in bayne: and that he  
coude nat wyne the towne. and also that  
Jugurthe dyd nought / but by gyle and  
falshode / no: wolde nat fight but yf it were  
in places for his profet & great auantage.  
And also whā he perceyued that the somer  
was passed: he departed from the siege of zamam: & in suche  
townes as he had won of Jugurth whiche were strongly de-  
fended with walles & water: he set garnyson & souldyours of  
his cōpany to defende them. But the remenant of his army  
he couayed & ordzed in the next pvince vnto Numidy: which  
was subget to the romayns: to remayne there tyll the sharp-  
nesse of the wynter were passed. And in the meane tyme he  
suffred nat them / no: hymselfe to be corrupted w superfluous  
welth / rest / no: lechery: after the maner of other befoze hym.  
But bycause the warre proceded forwarde but lytell with ar-  
mour or strength: he begā to proue & prepare treason agaynst  
a treatour / dyſcept agaynst a dyſcepuer: and gyle agaynst gyle  
of Jugurth: and this thought he to proue by suche as were  
moost chese frendes of Jugurth & moost famylper about hym.  
So that he purposed to ble the falshode and treason of them  
agaynst thei

agaynst their maister: in steede of armour and batayle. Wherefore first of all he began to proue the mynde of Bomilchar whiche had ben before at Rome with Jugurth: and (as I haue sayd before) fled priuely fro them for the death of Mallua/ leupng his sureties behynde i danger for his cause. Metellus conspyded that this Bomilchar (by cause of the great frendshyppe and familiarite whiche he had with Jugurth) sonest myght dysceyue and betray hym. Wherefore (as I haue sayd before) he began and went in hande with hym first of all by promysynge of great rewardes. And first of all he byd someth: that this Bomilchar came priuely to Metellus & spake with hym. Metellus anon prompted hym on fayth & treuth to do so for hym: that the senatours shuld pardon hym of all thyngs past/ and of his lyfe & goodes. So that he wolde betray or dysceyue vnto hym Jugurth other quicke or deed: lyghtly he perswaded the numidyen. For anon Bomilchar agreed thereto: what for his treaterous & false mynde which he had of nature. And what for that he doubted if any peace or composition after that shulde be made bytwene Jugurth & the romayns hymselfe shuld be dysceyued by cōspicion to the romayns to be punished for þe death of Mallua whom he caused to be slayne at Rome. This Bomilchar whan he sawe his tyme toke leue of Metellus on this apopntement: and sone after came to Jugurth whome he founde doutfull in care and bewayling his aduers and myserable fortunes with profunde syghes and heynesse/ and doutyng what way was most expedient to be taken. Bomilchar after many wordes begonne to counsell & warne hym/ praynge/ and obtespyng hym ppyteously wepyng and wayling: and requyring that at last he wolde make some prouision for the sauegarde & socours of hymselfe/ of his children & frendes: and for the people of Numidy which well had deserued agaynst hym to be prouided for and better sene to. Bomilchar also objected to Jugurth howe he and his menne were ouercome in euery batayle/ and his people also dimynished or alpyenate from hym/ his felde and townes wasted & dystroyd or els in possession of his enemies/ his men some taken & in prision. Some slayne: and many wounded & maimed/ the rychesse of his realme dimynished and wasted. Bomilchar alleged also to hym that he had proued the strength of his cowardys and fauour of fortune sufficiently proung/ wherefore it were better for hym to se some remedy and prouision for all these ylls and other mo/ and to beware lest whyle he prolonged the tyme and doubted: the people of the countrey shulde prouide for themselves without his aduise or counsell. With these wordes and other lyke Bomilchar induced the

Jugurth.

J. i.

Igitur Bomilcharem quib  
Romæ cum Jugurtha tu  
erat et inde vadibus dū  
tis clam Malluarnacis iudiciū fugerattque ei p m  
ximā amicitia proxia col  
pia fallendi erat: multaq  
policitatiōibus aggressi  
ac primo efficit uti ad se  
coloquēdi gratia ocula  
te veniat: deinde fide dā  
ta si Jugurtham viuū aut  
necatum sibi tradidisset  
fore ut illi senatus impu  
nitatem et sua oīa cōcederet: facile Numida  
suadetū ingenio rufidū  
tū metuenti ne si pax cō  
romanis fieret: ipse p cō  
ditiones ad supplicium  
traderetur

Is vbi primum opportunum fuit Jugurtham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit.

Monet atq; lachrimans obtestatur uti aliquando sibi/ liberisq; et gēti Numidarum optime meritis sepe victos: agrū vastatū multos mortalis captos aut accisos: regni opes cōminutas esse: satis sepe iā virtutem militū et fortunam tentatam: caueat ne illo cunctate Numida sibi consulant.

His atq; alijs talibus



## The batayle

deditionem regis animū  
impellit: mittuntur ad i-  
peratorem legati: qui Iu-  
gurrham imperata factu  
ruin dicerent: ac sine vl-  
la pactione sese regnum-  
que suum in illius fidem  
tradere.

Metellus cunctos sena-  
torij ordinis exhiberis  
propere accersi iubet: eo-  
rum atque aliorum quos  
idoneos ducebat: consili-  
um habet.

Ita more maiorum cōs-  
lij decreto p legatos Iu-  
gurrhæ imperat argenti  
pondo ducenta milia: ele-  
phantos omnes: equorū  
et armorum aliquatūlū.

Quæ postq sine mora fa-  
cta sūt: iubet omnes per-  
fugas vinctos adduci.

Eorū magna pars vti ius-  
sum erat adducti.

Pauci quum primū dedi-  
tio cepit: ad regem Boc-  
chum i mauritaniā abie-  
rant. Igitur Iugurrha  
vbi armis virisque et pec-  
cunia spoliatus est: cum  
ipse ad imperandum Tifi-  
diū vocaretur rursus ce-  
pit flectere animet ex ma-  
la conscientia digna si-  
mere.

Denique multis diebus p  
dubitationem consump-  
tis: quum modo tedio re-  
rum aduersarum oia bel-  
lo potiora duceret: inter-  
dum secū ipse reputaret  
q̄ grauis casus interuiti-  
um ex regno foret mul-  
tis magnisque præsidij  
nequicq̄ perditis de inte-  
gro bellum sumit.

kynges mynde to make some cōposicion oꝛ els to yelde hym  
selfe/and all other thynges to mercy & grace of the romayns.  
Anone embassado's were sende to Metellus to certify hym  
that Iugurth was redy to do what euer he wolde desyre oꝛ  
cōmaunde hym: and that he wolde cōmyt & yelde bothe hym  
selfe and his kyngdome to the fayth & grace of Metellus:  
and of the romayns without any paccyon/conuenaunt/ oꝛ ex-  
ception: sauyng onely as it pleased them to deale with hym.

Metellus herpyng of this mynde of Iugurth was verp glade:  
and cōmaunded all the most wyse/noble/ & woꝛthy men of his  
army anone to be called togyder vnto hym from their wyne-  
tryng places. Whan they were cōe than toke he counsell of them  
& of other suche as he knewe myself & most discrete touchyng  
the embassade of Iugurth. Anone it was cōcluded & decreed  
among the counsell and declared to the embassadours (acoꝝ-  
dyng to the olde custome of Rome) that they shuld cōmaunde  
Iugurth to sende to Metellus & the romayns two hundred  
thousande pounce weyght of syluer: all his clypphātes which  
he occupied in warre: and a certayne quantite of armour and  
a nōbre of his chyfe hoꝛse. All these thyngs were fulfilled and  
done of Iugurth without any tary oꝛ delay. Wherefoꝛe anone  
after Metellus cōmaunded agayne that all they whiche had  
betrayed his hoost / forsaken hym & fled to Iugurth shuld be  
bounden & so brought to hym agayne. The most part of them  
were brought as he cōmaunded: but a fewe of them whan they  
herde first of this cōposicion (serpyng the same mater) fled vnto  
Bocchus kyng of the moꝛryens.

¶ Whan Iugurth after this maner was bereft of his armour  
of his hoꝛse/ of his men/ & also of his treasour. Anone after he  
was called by Metellus to come to a towne called Tysidrum  
there to here what farther moꝛe shulde be cōmaunded to hym: &  
to yelde hymselfe to the myght of Rome acōdyng to his em-  
bassade. But he began than to change & to tourne his mynde  
agayne dꝛedyng foꝛ the knolegyng of his cruell dedes that he  
shuld neuer escape cōdigne punysshment if he were ones i the  
romayns handes. Thus he cōtynued many dayes in douryng  
what was best to be done. Somtyme he volued in mynde ra-  
ther to subdue hymselfe to any difficultie & to byde all paynes  
than to begyn warre agayn: cōsydyng the aduers & vnhappy  
fortune whiche he had before. Somtyme agayne he called to  
mynde how greuous a fall it shuld be to descēde from a kyng-  
dome into subiection and bondage. But at cōclusion whan in  
bayne & to none effect he had lost suche great oꝛdynaunce and  
helpe of warre as he had lately despyced to Metellus: as a  
volage hꝛayned man/ he fully determined agayne to begyn &

continue the warre with Metellus: rather than to yelde hym selfe to deth or captiuite.

But duringe this season at Rome was a counsell amonge the senatours concernyng thassignement of rule and gouernance of the prouinces belongynge to thempyre: in whiche counsell it was decreed that the countrey and warre of Numidy shulde be commytted to Metellus/by prozogacion of his authorite for another yere more.

But here wyl I leue a whyle to speke of Metellus: & write of the ambition of Marius: and how he behaued hymselfe in supplantynge the same Metellus for his rowme & dignite.

How Marius by ambition laboured to be consull and to prosecute the warre of Numidy: and how he detracted and supplanted the consull Metellus.

The xxxix. chapyter.



At the same season the sayd Marius was in a towne named Utica/and there made supplicacion & oblation to the ydolles with moche sacrifice to the intent that it myght be his fortune (by helpe) to haue the place of Metellus. A custome damnable was among the people at those dayes: when they slewe any beest in sacrifice: to loke within the intrayles and bowelles of y same beest so sacrificed. where was shewed vnto them dyuers tokens whyther they shuld haue any hope to bring that mater to effect: for which they sacrificed or els nat. And often tymes the wycked spyrites to cause them please in their ydolatry: and to geue credence to that blynde error shewed many tokes to the insuch maner sacrifice: which tokens they often founde true. But now to my purpose. The priest of the ydolles whiche sacrificed for Marius shewed great and marueplous tokens vnto hym: whereby he myght greatly trust to come to his intent and purpose/byddyng hym prosecute that thyng on whiche he had sette his mynde: and haue sure confydence in his goddes. Saying that if he wolde proue the extremite of fortune diligently and often: than doubtlesse euery thyng prosperously shulde happen to hym. But Marius afore that tyme longe season wonderously desyred in his mynde the dignite of the consull. And to say truely he wanted nothyng which longed to hym / whiche shulde haue such a dignite saue onely antiquite of his progeny and ancient noblenesse of byrthe. for thought he were but a gentyl

Jugurth.

J.ii.

Et Roma senat⁹ de prouincijs cōsultus: Numidia Metello decreuerat.

Et idem tempus Vtice sorte Caro Mario per hostias dijs supplicanti magna atque mirabilia porredi haruspex dixerat.

Proinde quę animo agitabat fret⁹ dijs ageret.

q̄ sepiissime fortunam exiretur: et omnia prospere euentura. At illum iam antea consalatus ingēs cupidō exagitabat: ad quem caprē dum preter vetustatē familię oīa abunde erant:



## The batayle

industria/probitas/militie magna scientia / animus belli ingens / domi modicus/libidinis: et diuitiarum victor: tantum modo glorie audius.

Sedis natu et per omnē pueritiam Arpini alitus vbi primum etas militie patiens fuit stipēdijs fasciundis: non greca facundia: neq. vrbaniis munditijs sese exercuit: ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium breui adoleuit.

Ergo vbi primum tribus natum militare a populo petit plerisque faciem eius ignorantibus facile notus per omnis tribus declaratur.

Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi perperit: semper in potestatibus eo modo agitabat: vt ampliore honore q̄ gerebat dignus haberetur.

Tamen is ad id locorum satis vix consulatum petere non audebat.

Nam postea ambitioe p̄cep̄s datus est.

Et iam tum alios magistratus plebs: consularū nobilitas p̄ manus inter se tradebat. Nouus nemo tam praeclarus: neq. tam egregijs factis erat: quin is indignus illo honore haberetur.

Igitur vbi Marius haru,

man of the first herd: neuertheless his conditions were worthyp and excellēt. In hym was great expertise of wysdome, moche probite/honestie/and sadnesse. He had great polyp and conynng in chynalry: in batayle his mynde was excellent & bolde. But in peace it was lowe and moderate. He ouerrame couetyse and sensualite of his body. He despyed noz coueeted noz thynge erthly saue glozie/laude/and worthyp. This Marius was borne & brought vp by all his chyldehode in the countrey of Champayne beyonde France in a towne named Arpnyne. But aslone as he was encreased / so that he myght bere hardnesse and byde the hardnesse of warfare: he concluded to lyue on the wages of chynalrie. And in that study he exercysed hymselfe: and nat in eloquence of greke langage oz in other study oz science: noz yet in the superfluous apatayle noz carnall lustes of citezins vnto which he neuer subdued his body. And thus was he indued with good maners: and exercysed among honest ocupacions and so continued that his hole and vnderfyled witt, shortly encreased & exalted himselfe growyng to honour and vertu. First whan this Marius despyed of the cōmenty of Rome to haue an office: that is to say / to be ordayned protectour of the soudyours: many of the citezins knewe nat his persone: bycause he was alway from the cite in warre & batayle: but his actes made his name well knownen. Wherfore after that the cōmenty vnderstode that he was Marius of whose nobles all Italy moch cōmuned & talked: anon they graunted his petition / and proclaimed hym protectour of the soudyours ouer all the prouinces & tribes of Italy. In that maisterchip & office he behaued hymselfe so well & wysely that after that he obtayned an other office of moze worthyp and authozite: and after that agayne an other of hyper dignite. And shortly to speke: in euery office and dignite he so behaued hymselfe that euery man thought and counted hym worthyer of moze dignite and honour than he had. Howebeit for all these condicions: as honozable as he was: he durst neuer before despye the office of consull of Rome tyll this tyme whan he had luche cōfort by his sacrifice. But whan he was thus warred and put in hope and consozt / euer after he was hedyng enclined to ambition and couetyse of that dignite.

¶ At this season the cōmenty of Rome had all other offices among them oz at their gyft and distribution. But the estates and noble men kept among them and in their handes the consullshyp p̄etely one succedyng other by election. So that of the cōmenty was none so noble noz excellent of dedes / but that was reputed vnworthyp of that dignite / and as who sayth byle and polluted. But whan Marius sawe and con-

spozed that the wordes and counsell of the enchauntour and pzeest which behelde his sacrifice pretended to the same poynt and conclusion as the desyre of his mynde moued hym longe befoze. And none he came to his capitayne Metellus/besechyng hym to be dyscharged of the batayle tyll he myght go to Rome to thintent to desyre the consullshyppe of the senatours. But how beit that in this Metellus was vertu/glozie/wozshyp/and all other thynges longynge to a good man plentifully ynoughe. Neuerthelesse of his courage and mynde was he so what proude/despisynge & dysdaynyng other: whiche were nat come of so hy lynage as he was. But specially he was stately and proude of mynde: whiche is a comen byce and myschefe among estates and gentylmen. Wherfore Metellus herpyng this interpyse of Marius/first of all was moued with the newely of his petition. For at that tyme were none wonte to speke for that dignite / but if they were come of a noble stocke. And so was nat Marius. And thus Metellus marueyled moche at his enterpyse: and who myght counsell hym therto: watynge hym as vnder colour of a myte and frendshyppe / nat to presume vpon so contrary and vnlikely a thyng: noz to exalte his mynde so hy aboue fortune couenient for his state and condicion. Sayng also to hym that euery thing was nat to be couepted noz despyed of euery man. And that it became hym well by reason to be cotented/pleased and satisfied with that honour whiche he had & that was his owne/and nat to desyre thyngs vnmete for his degre. And finally he exhorted & couelled hym to beware to desyre f thing of the Romayns which lausfully might be denyed vnto hym: cōspozing and haupng regarde to his lynage & auncetty.

After Metellus had couelled Marius with these wordes and other lyke: and that he coude nat tourne noz apeale his mynde/he answered hym at last that all one as he coude coueniently (nat lertynge the besynesse of the comen wele) he wolde graūt his desyre & petition. But after this whan Marius despyed the same dyscharge importunely & often: he made hym answer saying that he shulde nat make so great hast to Rome for that purpose for he shuld come tymely ynough to demaūde that dignite accompanyed with the sonne of the same Metellus/whiche sonne shulde also go to Rome in tyme to come to demaūde of the senato's the same dignite with Marius. This sonne of Metellus was at that tyme in the army of his father Metellus cōtinually exercisynge the feates of warre nat withstandynge that he was but. xx. yere of age. This answer of Metellus styzed Marius agaynst hym with greuous ire & wyath/what for the honour whiche he despyed: and what for

Jugurth.

J.iii.

spicis dicta eodē quo cupidō animi hortabatur insperare videtur ab Metello consulum petendi gratia missionem rogat. Cui quā virtus / gloria atque alia optanda bonis superabant: tamen inerat contemptor animus et superbia cō nobilitatis malum.

Itaque primum cōmōtus insolita re / mirari eius consilium: et quasi per amicitiam mouere ne tam praua inciperet: ne supra

fortunam animi gereret. non omnia omnibus cupienda esse debere ille res suas satis placere.

Postremo caueret id petere a populo romano quod illi iure negaretur.

Postquam haec atque alia talia dixit: neque animus Marii flectitur: respondit ubi primum potuisset pernegotia publica facerem sese quae peteret. Ac postea sepe eadem postulanti fertur dixisse: ne festinaret abire: satis mature illum cum filio consulatum petiturum.

Is eodem tempore in cōtubernio patris ibidem militabat annos natus circiter viginti.

Qua res Marium tū pro honore quem audierat:



## The batayle

tum pro licentia redeun-  
di quem ab eo impetrare  
nequibat: contra Metel-  
lum vehementer accedes-  
rat. Ita cupidine atq; ira  
pessimis consultoribus  
grari: neque facto vl-  
lo neque dicto abstinere:  
quod modo ambiciosum  
foret.

Milites quibus in hiber-  
nis præerat laxiore impe-  
rio q̃ ante habere.

apud negotiatores quorū  
magna multitudo Vricæ  
erat: criminose et simul  
magnifice de bello loqui  
dum dra pars exercitus si  
sibi pmitteretur: paucis  
diebus Iugurtham inca-  
thenis habiturum: ab im-  
peratore cōsulto bellum  
trahi: q̃ homo inanis et  
regie supbie imperio ni-  
mis gauderet:

Quæ omnia illis eo fir-  
miora videbantur: quia  
diuturnitate belli res fa-  
miliæ corruperat: et  
animo cupienti nihil fas-  
tis festinatur.

Erat præterea in exerci-  
tū nostro Numida quidam  
nomine Gauda Manassa  
balis fili: Manassisse ne-  
pos: quem Micipsa testa-  
mento secundum heredē  
scripserat: morbis conse-  
ctus et obeā causam mē-  
te paululū imminuta.

Cui Metellus petēti mo-

the licence to depart / whiche he coude nat optayne of hym by  
no prayer nor request at his pleasure. In somoche that he en-  
raged agaynst Metellus moued by desyre of that office and  
prouoked by pre / whiche two vices ambicion & pre counselled  
and impelled this Marius to moch yll agaynst the sayd Me-  
tellus / sparyng nouthet worde nor dede whiche myght enda-  
mage oꝝ hynder hym / his honour and name. And that myght  
helpe oꝝ auauce hymselfe by ambicion to come to the dignite  
whiche he despyed. He gouerned the soudpours which passed  
foꝝ the the wynter vnder his gouernaunce nat as he ought to  
do: but suffred them to haue their pleasure to thintent therby  
to optayne their fauour and good wyll in his enterpryse. Also  
he spake often in blamyng Metellus / & proudeby cōmendyng  
& exaltynge hymselfe vnto the marchantes of Rome: of whome  
was great resort and cōcours to the sayd cite of Utica where  
Marius sojourned. And often tymes he boosted sayenge to  
them that if the one halfe of the army were graunted and cō-  
mytted to hym with in fewe dayes he wolde behaue hymselfe  
that he wolde haue Jugurth in bondes and subiection. Fa-  
thermoze he sayed to them in auancyng hymselfe that Me-  
tellus prolonged the batayle foꝝ the nonest / foꝝ a craft by cause  
he was a man pompous and despyous of glozie & woꝝthpy  
bitterly reioysinge in authozite and gyuen to pryde and asse-  
ction of dignite: and by cause he knewe well that whyle the ba-  
tayle continued he shulde be reputed in maner as a kyng / the-  
foze he dyd his deuorze the moze to prolonge the warre to  
thende that in the meane tyme he myght exalte and magnify  
hymselfe. The wordes of Marius semed to the sayd marchā-  
tes certayne and true / and also as they thought (by suche in-  
foꝝmacion) moost expedient to the comen wayle that some  
newe capitayne were chosen / whiche shortly wolde finyssh  
that warre. foꝝ by long contynuaunce of the same warre: ma-  
ny of the sayd marchantes had wasted & spent moche of their  
substance and richesse. And also to such despyefull myndes as  
they had / nothpyng coude to fast be hastid oꝝ brought to ende.

**C**Moreouer at this season was in company of the romayne  
army a certayne Numidian named Gauda / whiche was  
sonne of Manassaball: and neuewe vnto Manassissa. His  
cypsa in his testament oꝝ dayned that this Gauda shulde be se-  
conde heyre of Numidy / after the deth of his two sonnes and  
of Jugurth. This Gauda was soze enfebled with dyspleases  
and sykenesse: and foꝝ that cause his mynde was a lytell en-  
dulled and priuate of reason and memoꝝie. Whyle this Gau-  
da (as sayed is) was in the romayns army: he requyred of

Metellus to suffre hym to haue his seat and siege next vnto hym after the vse of kyniges of Numidy. Also after that by cause of defence and garde of his body: he despyred that a company of souldpours of the romayns myght be graunted and assigned to hym. But Metellus extremely denyed bothe his petitions saynge for the first: that suche honour longed onely to them whome the romayns toke and named for kyniges. And also for þe seconde petition he sayd that it were an vnauysed and iniurious ordinaunce if the romayne souldpours were gyuen or assigned to the garde and seruice of a Numidian/ whiche was no kynig but a souldpour lyke many mo hyred for stypende. Whyle Gauda was displeased and angry with Metellus for denyeng of these his petitions: Marius came to hym and prouoked hym to reuenge the displeasure & insurp which the captayne had done to hym with his helpe & auancement. This Gauda (as I haue sayd before) was of feble and vnstable mynde: and the mennes wytte was of lytell baloure by meanes of diseases which long had holden hym. Wherfore Marius with his elegant/ sayre/ and flatteryng wordes at his owne pleasure induced hym & exalted his mynde sayeng that he was a kynig an excellent and great man: and also neuewe to the worthy & noble kynig Massinissa. Wherfore (sayd he) yf Jugurth were outhere slayne or taken prisoner it wyllyche ly to coe to that poynt: that the kyngdome of Numidy shulde be assigned & comytted to hym of the senatours without any tary or respytence: whiche thyng shulde shortly be brought to passe yf Marius hymselfe were creat consull in place of Metellus & than assigned to execute and synylle the warre with Jugurth. Under this maner Marius counselled and induced bothe the sayd Gauda/ the romayne knyghtes/ the comen souldpours/ and also the marchauntes and occuppers whiche were in the towne at that season w many other whome he impelled with his wordes so: that some of them for loue whiche they had to Marius: And other some for great hope and desyre which they had to haue peace and cōcorde wrote to Rome to their kynsmen & frendes of the batayle of Numidy & that very sharply agaynst Metellus despyring & beseechyng them to labour at Rome withall their myght that Marius myght be elect consull and assigned to execute the warre of Numidy. And thus at Rome was the consullshyp despyred by many men with great fauour and very honest petitions for Marius. Also at that tyme had the sayd Marius this auantage. For the comētie at that season deposed many of the states: & exalted such as were newe gentylmen after the lawe of one named Manlius which before had ben ptectour of the comētie.

re regem vt Tellam iuxta ponere: item postea custodie causa turmā equitum romanorum: vtrum que negauerat: honorem q̄ eorū modo foret quos populus romanus reges appellauisset: presidium q̄ cōtumeliosū foret: si equites romani satelliti numidæ traderentur.

Hunc Marius anxiū aggredditur: atque hortatur vt contumeliarum impatoris cū suo auxilio penas petat: hominem ob morbos animo parū valido secunda oratione extollit: illum regem ingentem virum Massinissæ nepotem esse: si Iugurtha captus aut occisus foret imperium Numidæ sine mora habiturum.

id adeo mature posse enenire: si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret.

Itaque et illum/et equites romanos: milites et negotiatores alios ipse: plerosq̄ pacis spe impellit vt i romam ad suos necessarios aspere i Metellum de bello scribant,

Marium imperatorem poscāt sic illi a multis moralibus honestissima suffragatione consulat⁹ petebatur. Simul ea tempe state plerū nobilitate iussa per legē manliam nos uos extollebat.



## The batayle

*Ita Marlo cunctis proces-  
dere.*

This Manlius ordeyned & enacted a lawe that if any thyng were vngoodly done and agaynst ryght of the states beyng in any office or dignite: than he whiche so had done shulde be deposed of his office: and in his place some newe gentyll or actyue man of the comente sette and deputed and so exalted. This lawe at those dayes was kept in effect and executed at Rome: wherfore euery thyng proceeded prosperously to the purpose & profet of Marius. For (as I haue sayd before) in hym was no noblenesse of aunient lynage nor byrthe.

But here wyl I leaue to speke of the ambition of Marius and retourne to wyte of Jugurth: and howe he behaued hymselfe agaynst Metellus.

Howe Jugurth renewed the warre agaynst Metellus/and how the numidyans inhabyters of the towne of Uacca by treason murdred the garnyson of romayns whiche Metellus had set in the same towne. The .xl. chapyter.

**I**sterim Jugurtha post  
q̄ omnia deditione bel-  
lum incipere magna  
cura parare omnia festi-  
nare: exercitum cogere:  
ciuitates quæ a se desce-  
rat formidie: aut ostētan-  
do præmia affectare: cō-  
munire suos locos: arma

relia: aliaque quæ spe pa-  
cis amiserat reficere aut  
comercari: seruitia rōa-  
rum allicere: et eos is-  
p̄s qui i præsijs erāt  
pecunia tentare: prorsus  
intra sum nihil neq̄ quies-  
tum pati: cuncta agitare.

Igitur Vaccēsēs (quo Me-  
tellus in initio Jugurtha  
pacificante presidium i-



**I**n the meane tyme whan Jugurth had broken the cōpactiō which he had before made with Metellus by counsell of Bomilchar/and had concluded agayne to begyne the warre: than anon he prepared all thyng necessary to warre with great diligence. And w<sup>th</sup> great hast he assēbled an army. Moreover he dayly troubled with thyrēnynges/ or feare/ or els with great rewardes: such cities & townes as before had forsaken hym & yeldded themselves to Metellus. So that he spared no polycie to make them to render themselves agayne to hym. In such holdes & townes as were in his possession: he set garnyson and defence of men of warre. He renewed & bought agayne armour & weppn: and all other thyng: which he had lost before: or belyuerd to Metellus in hope of peace. He attyled vnto hym many of the romayns subgettes & bondemen: by promysing to them their libertie. He also proued & attempted w<sup>th</sup> rewardes them: whome Metellus had set & assigned in garnyson/garde and defence of such places as he had wonne in Numidy: so that viterly he suffred nothyng to be left quyet nor vnassayed: but by all maner meanes made prouysion for hymselfe mouyng & puttyng in profe euery thyng. But amonge all other thynhabytantes of the cite called Uacca (in whiche Metellus at begynnyng had set his garnyson: whan Jugurth first sought his peace of

Metellus) were despyed often of Jugurth and with great  
 importune instance erited to treason. In somoche that at last  
 they assented to hym to cōspire agaynst the romayns. Thins  
 habitantes of the cite dyd nat yelde themselfe from Jugurth  
 with theire owne goodwyl: and namely the states and rulers  
 therof dyd neuer yelde them to Metellus saue fayedly.  
 Wherfore specially they were the first that conspired agaynst  
 hym secretly amonge themselfe. For why as it often happe  
 ned the commentie and specially of the Numidiens were vn  
 stable of mynde/ betterly enclined to sedicion and discorde co  
 uetous of newe thynges and changes: and contrary to rest  
 and quyetnesse. But (as I haue sayd before) whan the chye  
 of this cite had secretly concluded and apoynted their mater  
 and treason amonge themselfe: agaynst the thyrde day they  
 ordayned that the same thyrde day nexte after shulde be com  
 maunded solem/holy/ and worshypped ouer all the countrey  
 of Affricke/ and Numidy. Whiche day shewed and pretended  
 by all similitude myrth/ game/ and sport: rather than any  
 drede to the romayns whiche were in garde and garrison of  
 the cpte. But the Numidiens full of prodicion and treason  
 whan they sawe their tyme called vnto their houses all the  
 chiefe captayns and maister souldyours of the romayns whi  
 che were in the towne. And also one named Turpilus:  
 whome Metellus had ordayned to be his lieutenant/ pfoluost  
 and chiefe capitayne of the towne: they enuisted and called as  
 pf it had ben to chere and feest them/ one to one house/ an  
 other to an other. But this there was suche as the Scorpion  
 is wont to make: whiche whyle she maketh glad semblant  
 with her mouthe mortally spyngeth with the taylor: so this  
 feest was a cloke to mortall treason. For whyle the romayns  
 were in myddes of their daynties duarmed suspectynge no  
 paryll. All the Numidiens at a tokens gyuen and at one howe  
 re apoynted before/ slewe eche one his geest whiche dynd  
 with hym without sauoure: so that amonge them all escaped  
 nat one/ except the sayd Turpilus hert capitayne or lieute  
 nant of the towne. This done: all the Numidiens togyder  
 set vpon the remenant of the comen souldyours whiche man  
 dyed and straped abroad in the towne: in the streets/ disper  
 sed abroad without any armour: as is wont on suche a day  
 without order/ serping noz douryng no daunger. Some of the  
 comens whan the states had made them pryue of this treason  
 came also to helpe them/ and some other ignorant of the mater  
 sayng that/ that they had despye and pteasuered in suche mur  
 der inuaded the romayns also. For though they were igno  
 rant of the counsell of this dede: yet the noyse of the murther

posuerat) fatigati regis  
 supplicij: neq; antea sua  
 voluntate alienati prin  
 cipes ciuitatis iter se cō  
 iurant.

Nam vulgus vti plerūq;  
 solet et maxime Numi  
 darum ingenio mobili se  
 ditiosum atque discordi  
 osum erat cupidū noua  
 rum rerum quieti et otio  
 aduersum. Deinde cōpos  
 sitis inter se rebus in diē  
 tercium constituunt q; is  
 festus celebratus que per  
 omnem Aphricam: ludū  
 et lasciuia magis q; for  
 midinem ostēdebat. Sed  
 vbi tempus fuit centuri  
 ones tribunosq; militas  
 res et ipsum præfectū opa  
 pidi Titum Turpilium  
 Sillanum alius alium in  
 domos suas inuicant;

eos ois præter Turpilij  
 inter epulas obrūcant.

Postea milites palantes  
 inermes quippe i tali die  
 ac sine imperio aggredi  
 untur.

Ide plebs facit pars edog  
 ari a nobilitate alijs And  
 o talium rerum incitati.

Quis autē consilium  
 pueratibus tumultus ip  
 se et res noue satis place



ant. Romani milites in  
 paulo metu incerti ig-  
 nariq; quid potissimū fa-  
 cerent trepidare. Ad  
 arcem oppidi ubi signa  
 et scuta erant presidium  
 hostium: portæ ante clau-  
 sę fugam prohibebat ad  
 hoc mulieres pueriq; pro  
 rectis ædificiorum saxa  
 et alia quæ locus præbe-  
 bat certari anceps malū  
 neq; a fortissimis infirmis-  
 simo generi resisti posse:  
 iuxta hominū malig; strenui  
 et ibecilles multi obtrū-  
 cari sunt. In ea tanta  
 asperitate scruissimis nu-  
 midis et oppido vndique  
 clauso. Turpilius præses  
 aut unus ex omnibus Itali-  
 cis profugit intactus. Id  
 misericordia ne hostis  
 in pactiōe ancusu ita es-  
 uenerit parum cōperim;  
 nisi quia quod illi in tan-  
 to malo turpis vita inter-  
 gra fama prior fuit im-  
 probus instabilisque vi-  
 detur.

**M**etellus postq̄ de re-  
 bus Vaceg actis cō-  
 perit paulisp̄ mor-  
 tise conspectu abiit.

Deinde ubi ira et ægritu-  
 do permitta sunt cum ma-  
 xima cura vltū ire iniū-  
 ris cessat.

## The batayle

and newelty of the mater pleased them ynough. The romayn  
 soudyours were ignozant and incertayne of this bnprouided  
 feare and cruell murder doutynge what was best to be done.  
 Their enemies cōpalyngē them on euerý syde letted them to  
 go to the castell of the towne where their armour and weppn  
 was: and the gates of the towne were shet on euerý syde befor-  
 re this skympthe began / wherby they were prohibyted to  
 auoyde the towne. No: couer women & chyliden thue downe  
 vpon them stones / and other thynges that came nert to hande  
 from the wyndowes & hpest partes of their houses: stryving  
 who myght thzowe first & most. Thus this doutfull and vn-  
 prouided mychefe coude nat be eschued: no: they which were  
 ryght worthý & strong soudyours were nat able to resyst the  
 very cowardyse and feblenes of women and chyliden / whiche  
 thue downe vpon them. Thus both good and pyl / worthý / &  
 bñworthý / strong / & feble: were all slayne without difference.  
 In this so great leopardy: the Numidyens beyng mad and  
 cruell in murdre / and the gates shette on euerý syde: of all the  
 romayns / or Italyens: onely Turpilius the captayne esca-  
 ped without hurt of his body. Whpyther it so happed by the fa-  
 uour of his hoost whiche called hym to banket: or by some co-  
 poyntment of treason: or els by some other chance: it was nat  
 knowen for certayn. But this was knowen that euer after as  
 long as he lyued he was reputed for a vyle and a wretched co-  
 warde & without credēce: by cause that in so great losse & mys-  
 chefe he couēted it better to escape: and after to lyue / and dye in  
 shame and rebuke: than manly to haue dyed in defence of the  
 towne. And euer after to haue had an honorablc name of a  
 worthý capitayne.

**How Metellus destroyed the towne of Vacea  
 and slew all the inhabitauntes / in reuengynge  
 their treason. And how the Turpilius lieutenant  
 or captayne of towne / was beheaded at commaū-  
 dement of Metellus.** **The .xli. chap.**

**W**han Metellus vnderstode of this la-  
 mentable chance / & treason done at the towne  
 of Vacea: his mynde was meruaylously gre-  
 ued / abashed / & sadde withall. But to content  
 that none shulde perceyue his heuynesse / he  
 withdrew hymselfe frome company a lytell tyme: but after  
 whan he had satisfied his mynde with teares / and secrette la-  
 mentation. And whan his dolour was imbred with wrath

and displeasure agaynst that cruell dede: than hasted he hym selfe with great cure & diligence to go reuenge this inturuous and cruell treason. Anone he called forth a legion of Soudyours whiche passed forth the wynter with hym: and with them also as many horsemen of the Numidpens as he myght assemble whiche had taken Jugurth and fled to hym: whome he thought most trusty. His legion he arrayed in lycht harness and easy armour to thynke to speede the way more redely. And by cause he intended to go about this matter secretly: therefore privately cun with the some going downe: he toke his tourney & prececed forwarde towarde Uacca: and laboured so that on the next day after about the thyrde houre he came with his company into a certayne playne a lytell closed or compassed about with small downys nat moch hyer than the extremities of the haley. There called he togyder his soudyours whiche were wery for the great labour of their journey: and longe way whiche they had gone. In somoch that they refused to procede any farther. But Metellus comforted them sayeng that the towne of Uacca was no more but one myle thens. Wherefore he despyed them to suffre & endure the remenat of their labour with pacient myndes: but onely till reuenged the deeth of the citezins & their felowes whiche were strong & worthy men: and very miserably murdered. Whereouer he shewed to them benygne the great pray which was redy for them: if they wolde manly prece. Thus were their myndes exalted comforted and embolded with his wordes. Metellus seynst that: was glad & anone commaunded the horsemen to prece in the forward these horsemen were numidpens. And the fotemen he commaunded to kepe secrete their standerdes/consfances/and badges: and to go behynde vnder the shadowe of the horsemen as nere togyder as they myght: and so proceded he towarde the towne.

¶ Whan the citezins sawe an army approche and moue towarde them: at the begynnyng they thought it had ben Metellus (as it was in dede) and onone shytted the gates of the towne agaynst hym. But afterwarde whan they aduysed them well: and sawe that the company which approached made no brastacion nor distraction by the feldes nor countrey as they went. And also whan they perceyued that the horsemen whiche were in the forward were Numidpens: agayne they thought that it was Jugurth with his company. Wherefore with great toy they issued forth of the towne to mete hym. Metellus anone perceyued their ignorance and gaue a token to his people to assaile them. The horsemen and fotemen knowinge the wyll of their capayne by blast of the trūpettes assailed and ouerthrew the comētie which came out of the cite

Legionem cum qua hyemabat et q̄ plurimos pōt numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit.

Et postera die cūcūctus hōram tertiam peruenit in quādam planiciem locis paulo superioribus citāciuentam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine etiam abnuētes oīa docet: oppidum Vaccam non amplius mille passuum abesse: decere reliquū laborem æquo aīo pati: dum pro ciuibz suis vīris fortissimis atq̄ miseris pōenas caperent: præterea prædā benigne ostētat sic animis eorum arrectis equites i primo latere: pedites q̄ archissime ire et signa occultare iubet.

Vaccenses vbi aiaduerte re ad se versum exercitū pgerē: prius (viri res erat) Metellum esse ratī: portas claufere. Deinde vbi neq̄ agros vastari: et eos qui primi aderāt Numidas equites vident: rursū Jugurthā arbitrati cum magno gaudio: obuij procedunt.

Equites et pedites repēte signo dato alij vulgū effusum oppido cadere alij ad portas festinates: pars turres capere.



*Ira atque præde spes amplius quam laetando posse.*

*Ita Vaceenses biduum modo ex perfidia lætati.*

*Civitas magna et opulenta cuncta pœne atque præda fuit.*

*Turpilius quem prefectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugis supra ostendimus iussus a Metello causam dicere: postquam se parum expurgat: condemnatus verberatusque pœnas capite soluit.*

*Nam is civis ex latro erat.*

**P**er idem tempus Bomilchar: cuius impulsu Jugurtha deditionem quam metu deferuit inceperat: suspectus regi et ipse eum suspicans: novis res cupere ad principis eius dolum querere: diu nocturne: fatigare animi: denique omnia tentando socium sibi adiungit Nabdalsā

## The batayle

agaynst them dyspled ouer the felde. Some of the romains ran to the gates of the towne & entred without resistance: and some toke & inuaded the towres of the walles maugre the keepers. Thus the dispeasure & pze whiche the romayns had for deth of their felowes: & the hope of prayes of the towne ouer came & excluded their werynes which they had in their tourney thiderwarde. Thus the inhabitantes of Macca enioyed their treason but onely two dayes. For onely the space of two dayes continued their fallhode & crueltie vntreuged. For that great & riche cite was all gyuen to hauoche & murdre vtterly dystroyed of the romayns: so that no creature escaped alpye to boost of their treason befoze comitted agaynst the romains whome they had so trayterously slayne within their cite. Turpilius lytenant or captayne of the towne whiche (as I haue sayd befoze) escaped onely with his lyfe: was called befoze Metellus and comaunded to answer for hymselfe by what way or meanes he escaped / whpyther by treason done to the towne / or by any other policy. But bycause he coude but simply excuse noz pourge hymselfe of that whiche was layed agaynst hym / he first was scourged & beaten: and after that his heed stryken off from his sholders / for that it was thought that if he had nat betrayed the cite he coude nat haue escaped moze than any other. Farthermoze that great dyststruction of the romains was ascribed to his negligēce or treason. If this Turpilius had ben a romayn he shulde nat haue put to deth. For the lawe of Porcius prohibyted any citezine of Rome to be slayne: but if they comptred any great offence the extreme punysshement by the lawe was to compt them to exyle. But this Turpilius inioyed nat the ptylleges of this lawe: for asmoche as he was no citezine of Rome / but an Italian of the towne of Collace.

**Howe Bomylchar conspyred treason agaynst Jugurth and by what meanes this treason was discouered and Bomilchar with certayne other put to deth for the same. The .xlii. chap.**



**B** the same tyme Bomilchar (by whose counsell and mocpon Jugurth befoze had begon the copolition with Metellus / which he omitted and brake agayn for feare) was couersant with Jugurth / whiche alptell suspected this Bomilchar of treason. Wherfoze he suspectyng hym agayne ymagyned newe policy agaynst Jugurth dayly sekynge & deuyfing some gyle

some gyle to his destruction and death / so that in dyuerse de-  
uples there about his mynde wandred and was weryed both  
day & nyght. But whan he had assayed many wayes and that  
nothing came to purpose: he adioyned vnto hym an other co-  
panyon named **Abdalla** / a noble man exalted & enhaunced  
with great rycheesse: and moche beloued of his comenite and  
people of whome he had rule. This **Abdalla** was so well  
beloued with **Jugurth** / that often tymes he comytted to hym  
an army & power by hymselfe to execute all other thyngs whi-  
che longed to meane besynesse whyle **Jugurth** hymselfe was  
weryed o: lette with other gretter thynges: wherby the sayd  
**Abdalla** had optayned great honour & gathered great ry-  
cheesse. Thus at conclusion: by apoyntment & counsell bothe of  
**Bomilchar** & of **Abdalla** a day was prefixed betwene them  
to execute their treason agaynst **Jugurth**. And in the meane  
tyme they purposed euery thyng to that purpose as the matter  
and case requyred. This apoyntment made: they bothe depar-  
ted in sonder. **Abdalla** went to the army whiche **Jugurth**  
had comytted to hym for to tary with the same nere to those  
places where the romayns wyntred: to thintent that if the ro-  
mayns wasted o: destroyed the countrey. **Abdalla** with his  
company shulde other prohibet them: o: els so dystourbe them  
that they shulde nat escape vntreuenged. But whan the tyme  
apoynted drew nere: than was **Abdalla** so abashed for the  
gretnesse of the dede that he mette nat with **Bomilchar** at the  
day & tyme assigned. This his great feate letted all the mater.  
But whā **Bomilchar** was thus disapoynted of his partyng  
felowe he was greatly abashed: neuerthelesse his mynde  
was moch desyrous to perfourme his enterpryse. But agayne  
he was doutfull for this cowardouse fere of his companyon: lest  
he wolde omytte their first apoyntment and counsell / and be-  
gyn some other newe apoyntment. Wherfore he sent letters vnto  
to hym by trusty frendes / and partyners of the same treason.  
In which letters he sharply blamed the pacence / delayeng /  
and cowardyse of **Abdalla** / and vnstableness of his mynde  
obtestyng and calling vnto wytnes the goddes by whome he  
had sworn to perfourme the sayd treason. Moreover he war-  
ned hym that he sholde nat tourne to their destruction and co-  
fusyon: the great rewardes whiche they bothe myght haue of  
**Metellus**. Which thyng truly shuld fortune if **Metellus** hym  
selfe shulde bring **Jugurth** into captiuite. Farthermore **Bo-  
milchar** in the same letters gaue monicion to **Abdalla** that  
thende of **Jugurth** was nere come: and that it was nat possy-  
ble that he might long contynue all thynges cōspoyred. But  
than was the mater in hande whpther he shulde be destroyed  
Jugurth.

*h. i.*

hominem nobilem ma-  
gnis opibus clarum ac-  
ceptūq; popularib; suis.

Is plerūque seorsum ab  
rege exercitum ducere:  
et oēs res exequi solitus  
erat: quæ Jugurthæ fello  
aut maiorib; astricō sus-  
perant: ex quo illi gloria  
opesque inuente.  
Igitur vtriusq; consilio  
dies insidijs statuitur.

Cætera vti res posceret  
pro tempore parari pla-  
cuit. Nal dalsa ad exer-  
citum proleclus est quem  
inter hiberna romanorū  
iulius haberet ne ager in  
vitis hostibus vastaret.

Is postq; magnitudine fas-  
cinoris percussus ad res  
non venit metusq; res im-  
pediebat. Bomilchar si-  
mul cupidus incepta pa-  
trandiet timore loci: an-  
xius: ne omisso vetere cō-  
filio nouum quæretet li-  
teras ad eum phomines  
fideles mittit i quis mol-  
licie secordiamq; viri ac-  
cusaret: testari deos per  
quos iurasset monere ne  
præmia Metelli in pestō  
conuerteret: Jugurthē ex-  
itum adesse: cæterum iua-  
ne an Metelli virtute pe-  
risset: id modo agitari.



## The batayle.

Proinde reputaret anis-  
mo suo premia an crucis-  
atum mallet:

sed cum literæ allatæ fu-  
ere: forte Nabdalsa ex-  
ercitato corpore fessus in  
lecto quiescebat. Vbi co-  
gnitis Bomilcharis ver-  
bis prio cura: deinde vri-  
ægum animum solet: so-  
nus cœpit.

Erat ei numida quidam  
negotiorū curator fidus  
acceptusq; et oīm consi-  
liorū nisi nouissimi parti-  
ceps. Qui postq̃ allatas  
literas audiuit et ex con-  
suetudine ratus opa aut  
ingenio suo opus esse: ra-  
bernaculū introiuit. Dor-  
miente illo eplām super  
caput in puluino temere  
positam sumit ac plegit.  
Deinde propere cognitis  
insidijs ad regem pergit.  
Nabdalsa post paulo ex-  
pectus vbi neque eplām  
repperit et rem oēm vti a-  
cta erat ex plūgis cognos-  
uit: primo indicem perfer-  
qui conatus est post q̃ id  
frustra fuit: Iugurtham  
placandi gratia accedit:  
dicit quæ ipse facere pa-  
rauisset pfidia cliētis sui  
præuenta: lacrimans ob-  
testatur p̃ amicitia perq̃  
sua ante fideliter acta ne  
super tali scelere suspec-  
tum se haberet.

Adearex aliter q̃ animo  
gerebat placide respōdit

by them oꝛ els by Metellus. Wherefoze he exhorted hym well  
to consyder in mynde whyther he had leuer betray hym/and  
therby optayns great fauour and rewardes: oꝛ els to leaue of  
tyll Metellus ouercame hym: and than to be put to death also  
with hym.

These exhortacions with other lyke were contayned in the  
letters of Bomilchar dyrected vnto Nabdalsa. But whan  
these letters were delpyerd: as chaunce was: Nabdalsa lay  
on his bed to recreate and restreſſe his body weryed with la-  
bour and besynesse/ which he had taken before. Whan Nab-  
dalsa had red these letters and vnderstode the mynde of Bo-  
milchar: first many deuyſes entred his mynde and moch cu-  
re he had in musyng what was moost expedient to be done in  
the cause. But whyle he was in this study: sodenly he fell in a  
flombze and his wery membes despyng rest moued hym to  
fall in slepe. This Nabdalsa had a seruant longynge to hym  
whome he moche loued and trusted: in somoche that no besyn-  
nesse noꝛ counsell he bydd: noꝛ kept secret from hym: this coun-  
sell of betrayng of Iugurth onely except. Whan this seruant  
vnderstode that the sayd letters were brought to his lord he  
thought that he had nede of his counsell as he was wont and  
acustomed to haue in other maters: and anone entred in to  
the tent where his maister lay. And seying hym fast in slepe he  
toke the letters whiche Nabdalsa had vnyuersely layd aboue  
his heed vpon the pylowe: and seying by the superscripcion  
that the letter came from Bomilchar he redde it to thende. But  
whan he vnderstode the treason: in all hast he addresſed hym  
with the same letter to Iugurth. Nabdalsa nat longe after  
awakenyd and myſſed the letter / wherefoze anone he enqy-  
red who had ben there in his tent. But in short season came  
dpyers of his louers from Iugurth / which certifyed hym of  
all the mater as it was done. Nabdalsa first of all entended to  
pursue his accuser: but whan he perceyued that it was but in  
bayne so to do/ consyding that he was all redy in the compa-  
ny of Iugurth: he went vnto Iugurth hymselfe to thintent to  
pacify and mytigate his displeasure & wyath. And sayd vnto  
hym that whan the sayd letters were first delpyerd vnto hym  
he had fully purposed nat to kepe them secret: but hymselfe to  
haue disclosed them to Iugurth. But whyle he was slepyng  
his false seruant (in hope to be aduanſed therby) had preuen-  
ted hym his purpose & done the same thyng which he hymselfe  
had fully purposed to do. Farthermoze wepyng he besought &  
required hym for all ampte and loue whiche had ben byt wene  
them & for all the faythfull seruice whiche he had done to hym  
in foꝛetyme nat to haue hym suspected in so cruell a dede. Iu-

gurth answered to these requestes of Abballa myldly & soberly lest any greater variance myght cōse therof: but moche contrary to the disposicion of his mynde. For he thought otherwyse than he answered: howbeit he had well restryned and alayed his wrath before w<sup>th</sup> the deth of Bomilchar: & of many other whome he knewe first deuilsours & partyng felowes of that treason whome he had caused to be put to deth before the cōpyng of Abballa: lest some batayle or other insurrection shuld haue preceeded of y<sup>e</sup> besynesse if they had lyued any lenger.

¶ From this day forward Jugurth was neuer quyet day nor nyght: so that he trusted nouthet place / nother man / nor tyme: but suspected & mistrusted euery thyng. His ennemys and his owne subgettes he dyled and suspected both in lyke & after one maner. He scretched & espyed euery place for drede of treason doutyng & suspectyng euery sound or noyse that he herde. He rested and lay some nyght in one place and some nyght in an other: and that in abiect & secrete places agaynst the honour of his estate royall. Somtyme he rose from his bed in his slepe in myddes of the nyght and armed hymselfe cryng/entragyng/and violently fynyng agaynst the walles of the chambze: as if he had ben in batayle. So that for the great drede of treason whiche he had / he toke no rest nother slepyng nor wakyng: but was violently bered and fered lyke a mad man without reason or discrecion.

¶ How Metellus renewed the warre agaynst Jugurth: and how Marius was creat consull and assigned to execute the warre of Numidy at pleasure of the cōmens agaynst the wyll of all the noble men of Rome. ¶ The. xlii. chapyter.

¶ When Metellus by such as fled betwene the two parties vnderstode of the chance of Bomilchar and of this treason disclosed / he began than agayne to cōtende w<sup>th</sup> Jugurth: with open warre and therto hasted all thyng necessary and expedient. And considryng that Marius was continually crying on hym for the sayd licence and congy to depart to Rome and also greuous/hatefull / and contrary to hym: aduysyng hym nat moche necessary but lytell mete i<sup>n</sup> so sharpe a besynes. And sepyng hym yll wylllyng to euery thyng he graunted hym lycece at last: to departe toward Rome as he before had often requyred and demaunded by petition.

Jugurth.

l. ii.

Bomilchare interfecto: alijque multis quos socios insidiarum cognouit: iram oppresserat: ne qua seditio aut bellum ex eo negotio oriretur.

Neque post id Jugurtha dies aut nox vlla quies fuit: neq<sup>ue</sup> loco neque mortali cuiq<sup>ue</sup> aut tempori satis credere. Cives hostesque iuxta metuere circumspicere oia et omni strepitu pauescere: alio atq<sup>ue</sup> alio loco sepe cōtra dec<sup>us</sup> regū noctu requiescere:

interdum somno exitus arreptis armis / tumultū facere: ita formidie quasi recordia agitari.

¶ Gitur Metellus vbi de casu Bomilcharis et in ditio patefacto ex persugis cognouit: rursus rā hā integrū bellum cuncta parat festinatq<sup>ue</sup> Mariū fatigantem de prosecutione simul et inuisum et offensum sibi parū idoneū ratū domū dimittere.



## The batayle

Hæc Romæ plebs/literis  
quæ de Metello et Mario  
missæ erant/cognitis,vo-  
lenti animo de ambobus  
acceperat,imperatorî no-  
bilitas,quæ antea decori  
fuit inuidie esse. At illi  
alteri genis hūilitas fa-  
uorem addiderat.  
Cæterum in utroq; ma-  
gis studia partium q̃ mala  
aut bona sua moderata  
sunt.

Præterea seditio si magis  
stratus vulgum exagita-  
re. Metellū omnibus con-  
cionib⁹ captis arcellere.  
Marij virtutem in mai⁹  
celebrare.

Denique plebs sic est ac-  
censa vti opifices/aggre-  
ssusque omnes: quorum  
res fidesque in manibus  
sine erant relatis operis  
frequentarent Mariū:et  
vt sua necessaria post il-  
lius honorem ducerent.

Ira percussa nobilitate  
post multas tempestates  
nouo homini consulatus  
mandaret.

Et postea populus a Tri-  
buno plebis Lucio Man-  
lio mancino rogatus/quæ

**B**ut as I haue sayd longe befoze / the letters whiche were  
sende to Rome to the cōmens by fauourers of Marius were  
well accepted. For whan the cōmentie had ouersene them / and  
by them vnderstode the praysyng of Marius / & the dysprays-  
syng of Metellus. They were all inclined bitterly to the auau-  
cemēt of Marius & detraccon of the other. The noblenes of  
Metellus the capitayne whiche was befoze to his great wor-  
thy p & honour tourned nowe to enuy & hatred agaynst hym.  
But the lownes & vnnoblenes of Marius encreased to hym  
faueur specially of the cōmentie which were come of vnnoble  
blode / as he was. But the diligence & fauour of both the par-  
ties (that is to say of the states which helde with Metellus: &  
of the cōmens that helde with Marius) byd measure & gyde  
euery thyng rather than the good or yll disposicions of the  
two aduersaryes Metellus or Marius. For the commens to  
dy for it / concluded to exalte Marius. And the estates in the  
same maner laboured to kepe hym vnder bycause he was vn-  
noble borne / and to exalte none saue them which were come of  
noble progeny. Farthermoze the maisters and heed officers  
of the cōmentie which loued debate at euery assemble and cō-  
gregation of the cōmens soze blamed Metellus and dyspised  
his dedes despying of the cōmens that Metellus might be put  
to the punyshe of his heed / sayng that he was so worthy: for  
that he plunged the warre in Numidy agaynst Jugurth mo-  
re than nede was. But in dyspysyng and accusyng Metellus  
they forgat nat to cōmende Marius / and exalt hym with wor-  
des somewhat to moche: and moze than he was worthy in ma-  
ny poyntes. In somoche that the people were so greatly ency-  
ned to hym with their fauoure: that all the crafty men and la-  
bouters of the cite: and also of the countrey whiche had no ly-  
uyng saue in the labour of their handes left their warke and  
b: synesse and folowed Marius / frequentyng and resortyng  
to his company. And sette moze by his auaucement and ho-  
nour than by theire owne profet or aduantage / trustyng that  
after yf he optayned the sayd honoure: they shulde haue their  
lyuenge by hym. And thus shortly to speke the estates and no-  
ble men of Rome beyng soze astonyed / the consullshyp was  
cōmpted to Marius a newe gentylmen whose predecessours  
befoze hym to such dignite coude neuer attayne & were coun-  
ted vnworthy. Thus that thyng whiche many yeres befoze  
that tyme coude neuer be done nor brought about: was nowe  
brought to effect: that is to say the consullshyp which was the  
most excellent dignite of Rome was nowe in handes of the  
commentie & cōmpted to a man of basse byrth. Shortly after  
this: the protectour of the cōmentie named Lucius Marcius

enquyred & demaunded of the people whome it wolde please them to sende into Numidy to synp the warre with Jugurth. The most part of the comētie answered that Marius shulde haue that office & besynesse: how beit a lytell before that tyme the senators had assigned by their ordinaunce the prouince of Numidy to Metellus for his worthy dedes: wherfore nowe this ordinaunce was frustrate & voyde. For the comētie wolde haue their statutes executed & fulfilled.

**O**f the seconde batell foughten byt wene Metellus and Jugurth: and howe Jugurth lost the batayle and also one of his chiefe to wnes named Thala.

The. xliii. chapyer.

**I**n the meane tyme whyle the interpres of Marius proceded thus forwarde at Rome: Jugurth was sore troubled in his mynde for many considerations. First he considered the losse of many whome he reputed for his frendes tyll before he knewe their treason of whom he had many put to death and many other had fled from hym for feare / some to the romayns / and other some to Bocchus kyng of the mautiens. He called also to his mynde that without ministers an men of warre he was nat able to execute the warre: and moze ouer he thought it teopardous after so great falshode and treason of his olde frendes to proue or assay the fidelite of newe. For these causes and mo lyke (as I haue sayd before) his mynde was driuen to and fro / variable & incertayne in diuers opinions. In somoch that there was no maner thynge / no counsell nor no maner man: that coude sufficiently satisfy nor please his mynde. He changed his iournayes and wayes euery day into sondry places for feare of treason. Somtyme he addressed hym towarde his enemies: and anone after retourned into wodes & wyldernes. Often tymes he had trust & confidence in flyght: and anone after put his trust in armour & batayle. He doubted whither he myght lesse trust to strength or trueth of his men which were with hym: so that what euer he purposed to do: or whither so euer he intended / euery thynge was contrary to hym. But whyle Jugurth thus prolonged and tarried: sodenly Metellus with his army appered in his syght. Jugurth that perceyving: set in order and array his numides as well as he might aff the short tyme which he had thereto. And immediatly the armies approached: and the batayle began. In that part of the batayle where Jugurth hymselfe

Jugurth.

R. iii.

vellet cum Jugurtha bellum gerere: frequēs Marius iussit. Sed senatus paulo ante Metello Numidiam prouinciam decreuerat: ea res frustra erat.


**E**dem tēpore Jugurtha amissis amicis (quorum plerosque ipse necauerat: ceteri formidat: pars ad romanos: alij ad regem Bocchum profugerant) quum neque bellum geri sine ministris posset: et nouorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret: varius incertusque agitabatur: neque illi res: neque consilium: aut quisquam hominum satis placebat: itinera / proiectus: que indies mutare: modo aduersus hostes: interdum solitudines pergeret: sepe in fuga: ac paulo post in armis spem habere: dubitare: virtuti an fidei popularium minus crederet. Ita quocumque intenderat: res aduersae erant.

Sed inter eas moras repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidae ab Jugurtha pro tempore parati instructique sunt. Deinde praelium incipitur: qua in parte rex



## The batayle

pugna affuit: ibi aliquan-  
diu certatum est. Cateri  
eius oēs milites priō con-  
gressu pulsi fugatiq; sunt.  
Romani signorū et armos-  
rū et aliquanto numero  
hostium paucorū positi  
sunt. Nam ferme numi-  
das in oībus praelijs ma-  
gis pedes q̄ arma tutati  
sunt. Ea fuga Iugurtha  
impēsus modo rebus su-  
is diffidēs/cū perfugis et  
parte equitat⁹ insolitus  
dines: deinde Thalam p-  
uenit: id oppidū magnū  
atq; opulentum: ibi plerū-  
q; thesauri filiorumq; ei⁹  
multus pueritiæ cultus  
erat. Quæ postq̄ Metel-  
lo comperta sunt/q̄ in-  
ter Thalam flumenq; pro-  
ximū in spatio militū qui-  
quaginta loca arida atq;  
vasta esse cognouerāt: itū  
spe patrandi bellū eius  
oppidi potitus foret: oīs  
asperitates superuadere/  
ac naturam etiā vince-  
re aggreditur. Igitur oīa  
iumenta sarcinis leuari  
iubet: nisi frumento dies-  
rum decē. Cæterum vtres  
modo et alia vasa aquæ  
idonea portari. Præterea  
cōquirat ex agris q̄ pluri-  
mum potest domiti peco-  
ris: eoq; imponit vasa cus-  
iusq; modi: sed pleraque  
ligna collecta ex tugur-  
rijs numidarum. Ad hoc  
finitimus imperat: qui se  
post regis fugam Metel-  
lo dediderāt: q̄ plurimū  
vt quisq; aquæ portaret.  
Diem locumq; ubi præsto  
fuerit prædicit. Ipse sus-  
mine: quam proximā op-  
pido aquam esse supra dis-  
ximus: iumenta onerat.  
Eo mō instructus ad Tha-  
lam proficitur. Deinde  
de vbi ad id loci ventum

was: they stroue and resysted a lytell space: but all the other  
numidyens at the first brunt/concourse oꝝ assaut were put to  
flyght with violence/and dzyuen backwarde. The romayns  
toke some of their standerdes and armour/which they fleyng  
away left behynde them: but of their ennemies they toke but  
fewe. For the Numidiens in that batayle and almost in all  
other defended themselves better with their fete: thā with their  
handes oꝝ armoure. Jugurth at this tyme: mystrusted his  
calle moche moze than at any other tyme euer before / for the  
cowardous withdꝛawynge of his people. Wherefore he acōpas-  
nyed hymselfe with the romayns which had forsaken and be-  
trayed Metellus/ & fled to hym. With them/and with a part  
of his hoꝝmen he fled into the wyldernes theby: and from  
thens vnto a towne named Thala/ which was a great towne  
& a riche: and moche of his treasour & of the aparell longynge  
to the yongth of his yong chyldren was in the same towne.  
But whan Metellus vnderstode that Jugurth was fled to  
so tye a towne/ how beit he knewe that byt wene the towne  
and the next flod therto was .l. myle space of dꝛy ground boyde  
& without habitacion: neuer thelesse he toke in hande to ouer-  
come all sharpnesse and difficulcie of places: and also to ouer-  
come nature/ though it seemed impossible to mannes mynde.  
This thyng Metellus toke in hande in hope to fynish the  
batayle moche soner yf he myght wyne that towne.   
Wherefore he cōmaunded that all the beestes which seruied  
for cariage/ shulde be byladen of all suche baggage and bur-  
thens as they caried longynge to the souldpours: saue onely  
where and bitayle for the space of .x. dayes. Also he cōmaūded  
some of the beestes to be laded with bottels full of water/ and  
other vessels mete to be caried with water. Moreover: ouer  
all the contrey he gathered togyder as many tame beestes as  
he coude get and them laded with empty vessels of euery sort.  
Many of them were treen vessell which he had done to be ga-  
thered among the villages of the Numidiens. Farthermoze  
he cōmaūded thynhabitanes of those marches which after  
the flight of Jugurth had yelded them to hym that they shuld  
make them redy to folowe the hoost euery man with as moche  
water as they myght beare. And assigned them a daye and  
place/ where they shulde be redy vnder payne of dethe.  
Whan Metellus was come to the sayd flod which was fyfty  
myle from the towne of Thala and nerest water therto (as I  
haue sayd before) he dyd all the beestes to be laded of the sa-  
me water. And so went towarde Thala/ his hoost set in order  
and aray: so that yf any scopardy apered he was euer redy at  
desce/ but afterwarde whan he was come to that place where

he had apoynted the numidians to mete hym with the water wherewith they were laded and folowed the hoost. And whan his tentes were pytched/sette/and defended about with trenches/cutte trees/bowes/and stakes after the policy of warre: sodenly from the heuen descended great violence and plenty of rayne water that it was more than sufficiently to all the army as wel to men as beestes. Moreover their vitels were more plentyfull than they trusted or looked after. For the numidians which newly were yelded were somoche the more seruysable and redy to mynistrer euery thyng necessary vnto the army. And no maruell: for euery thyng is quicke at the begynnyng which often fadeth at the ende. But the soudyours and men of warre: wey more glad to occupy the rayne water for deuotion/ than suche water whiche was brought vnto them in vessels by carpage. For they supposed: that their goddes loued and fauoured them whiche in so drye a countrey / and in suche a chaunce sent to them so great plenty of water besyde prouision of ther captayne. This thyng greatly consozted the myndes of them all: and incouraged them with boldnesse/strength / & diligence: to ouercome all difficulties whiche remayned. This consozt kyndlyng their myndes: they spedde themselves so forwarde that on the next day aft they came vnto the towne of Thala: contrary vnto the opinion or knowledge of Jugurth. Thinhabitantes which thought themselves surely defended by the sharpnesse and difficultie of the place/ were sodenly abashed & astonyed for that great vnwont and vnprouided case.ouertheless they made prouision to batayle as quicckely as they myght by sufferance of the tyme. The romayns addresed them in the same maner. But the kynge Jugurth anone cast in his mynde that to Metellus was nothing vnprouided nor vnable to be done: as he that by his craft/diligence / and polycie: had ouercome both wepen/armour/place/and tyme. And also nature it selfe: whiche ruleth other thynges longyng vnto men. Jugurth this aduysing & reuoluyng in his mynde fled priuely by nyght forth of the towne with his children and a great part of his treasour. For after this tyme he neuer tarried in one place past the space of a daye or of one nyght saynyng that he fled so from one place to an other bycause of his present besynesse: but the ryght cause of his remouynge was for that he feared treason which he thought best to auoyd and eschue by continuall chaangyng of places. For suche counsels of treason can nat be taken without deliberation and procelle of tyme/and conueniens or oportunte of places where princes dothe long so tourne and continue.

¶ But whan Metellus sawe that thinhabitantes were redy

est/quo numidas præceperat: et castra posita/ munitaq: sunt: tanta repente celomissa vis aquæ dicitur/ vt ea modo exercitui: fastis superq: foret. Præterea cōmeatus spe amplior: quia numidæ/ sicuti pleriq: faciunt / in noua deditione officia intēderant:

Cæterum milites pro religione pluuiæ magis vsi. Eaq: res multum animis eorum addidit. Nam rati sunt sese dijs immortalibus curæ esse.

Deinde postero die cōtra opinionem Jugurthæ/ ad Thalam pueniunt. Oppidani/ qui se locorū asperitate munitos crediderāt/ magna atq: insolita re percussi: nihilo segnius bellum parare: idem nri facere.

Sed rex nihil iam insectū Metello credens/ quippe qui omnia tela: et arma: locos: tempora: denique naturam ipsā/ cæteris impetitantē industria viceraticum liberis et magna parte pecuniæ ex oppido noctu profugit. Neq: postea villo in loco amplius vna die aut vna nocte moratus simulabat se negotij gratia properare. Cæterum prodicionem timebat/ quam virare posse celeritate putabat. Nam talia consilia solent per otium ex opportunitate capi.

At Metellus vbi oppida-



## The batayle

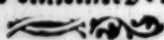
nos praelio intētos simul  
oppidum et operibus et  
loco munitum videt: val-  
lo fossaq; moenia circum-  
uenit.

Deinde subter duobus lo-  
cis ex copia maxime ido-  
neis vineas agere: super  
q; eas aggerem iacere: et  
super aggerē impositis tur-  
ribus opus et administras  
curari.

Contra hæc oppidani fes-  
tinare: parare: prorsus  
ab utrisq; nihil reliquum  
fieri: deniq; romani mul-  
to ante lacore praelijsq;  
fatigati post dies quadra-  
ginta q̄ eo ventū erat: op-  
pido modo potiti.  
Præda omnia a perfugis  
corrupta est.

Hi postq̄ murū arietibus  
feriri: resq; suas afflictas  
vident: aurum atq; argen-  
tū et alia quæ prima dis-  
cuntur domū regiam cō-  
portāt: ibiq; vino et epu-  
lis grauati illaq; et do-  
mum et semet igni corrū-  
punt:

Et quas victi ab hostibus  
pœnas metuerant eas ip-  
si volentes pendere.

to batayle/and also that the towne was strongly defended bo-  
the by crafte of mannes handes and by nature of the place.  
None he compassed about the towne on euery syde with pro-  
founde dyche/ trenches/ and herdels: of sharpe stakes the  
poyntes bpwarde to thentent that none of thinhabytantes  
shuld bryke out nor escape by night/as Jugurth had done be-  
fore: nor that no bitels shulde be conuaped into them/ wherby  
they myght the longer resyst hym and indure the sege. After-  
warde he comaunded scaffolde to be made about the walles  
specially in suche places as were moost conuenient: and pen-  
tyles of helde conioyned in maner of byncs to be drayen to  
the walles vpon wheles. And about the sayd scaffolde to be  
cast a hepe of grauell and stones: and toures of tymbre and  
bulwarkes set vpon them: and other souldyours he assigned  
to defende the warke/and them also that laboured therevpon.  
These scaffolde/ pentyles/ and pauases: were made to thentent  
that vnder them the romayns might vndermine the walle-  
les without great payll or dammage. On the othersyde/ the  
garnyson and inhabitantes hastely laboured to resyst the ro-  
mayns & to defende themselfe and their towne manfully. So  
that on bothe parties was nothyng forgotten/ able to be done  
touchyng their defence. But bresely to speke the romayns we-  
tyed with moch labour and batayle. xl. dayes after they were  
cōthyder: at last wan the towne. But all the pray and riches  
of the towne was dystroyed by them whiche were within the  
towne in garnyson: of the romayns / whiche had fled from  
Metellus to Jugurth: which specially had assigned them to  
defende the towne. These traytours whan they sawe the walle-  
les vndermined & brused with diuerse ingens of batayle: and  
their fortune was brought to extremite: and no socours nor  
hope remayned. Than they assembled & caried togyder all  
the treasour & riches of the towne/ as golde/ syluer/ with other  
precious ornaments or iewels into the palays of Jugurth/ &  
there spled themselfe with wyne and other delycate meates.  
And at cōclusion whan they were full saturate and ingorged:  
they sette fyre on the palays and wyllfully bzent and dystroyed  
the richesse/ the palays/ and themselfe withall. So that suche  
punishment as they dyed to suffre of their ennemies they  
voluntarily suffred the same with their owne hādes to auoyde  
the subieccion and daunger of their ennemies: by desperate  
folly and presumptuous madnesse. 

**How Metellus fortified the cite of Leptis and  
at request of the embassadours of the same cytie**

sende thyder garnyson to defende the cyte agaynst Jugurth: and of the sytuacion of the same cyte & behauour of thihabytants therof. The. xlv. cha.



**A**t the same tyme whanne Thala was wonne of the romayns / embassado's came fro a towne of Numidy named Leptis vnto Metellus / requirynge hym to sende thyder socours of garnyson & a capitayne to defende them from the oppression and insurty of a certayne noble and debatefull man /

which was within that cyte named Amilchar whiche (as they sayd) continually laboured for newe changis excityng and moving the comen people to forsake the romayns agayne. In so much that agaynst the sayd Amilchar no man was able to resist nor to preuaile: for he set nought by commaundement of their officers and rulers / nor yet by the auncient lawes of their cite. At conclusion these embassado's sayd to Metellus for a surete that except he graunted their petition that bothe their owne helthe / and also the frendes & louers of the empire whiche were within that cite shulde be in great danger and peryll.

These Leptitans at begynnyng of this warre of Jugurth requyred frendshyppe with the romayns of Calpurnius of whome is made mencion in begynnyng of this hystorie. And after that they sende to Rome vnto all the senatours requyryng the same ampye and peace to be confermed of them: whiche thynge was graunted to them gladly. Therfoze from thensforth they euer contynued good and faythfull to the romayns: and worthely and substancially dyd euery thynge whiche was commaunded vnto them by Calpurnius / by Albinus or by Metellus. For this consyderacion they lightly optayned all their desyre of Metellus / whiche at their request sent forth with them vnto the sayd towne of Leptis: foure cohortes of lombardes chosen out of all his army with whome he sent to be captayne ouer them a noble knyght of his army named Caius Annus / whome he also assigned to be lieutenant of the towne.

This towne of Leptis was buylded first of all by the Sidonians whiche (as we rede) fled from their owne contrey for discorde and variance which fell among their cities at home. Whiche Sidonians came in shyppes into the coastes of Affricke: where at last they buylded this cite of Leptes / which is situate bytwene two quicksandes of whome the cite hath his name.

**S**ed pariter cum capta Thala / legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerat orantes ut praesidium praestarent eis /

Amilcharem quendam hominem nobilem / factiosum / nouis rebus studere / aduersum quem neque imperia magistratum / neque leges valerent: nisi id festinare in summo periculo suam salutem et illos socios foret.

Nam leptitani iam inde a principio belli Iugurthis / nisi ad Bestiam consulens / et postea Romam miserat / amicitiam societatemque rogatum. Deinde ubi ea impetrata fuere / semper boni fidelesque manserunt: et cum a Bestia Albino Metello / impetrata / grauiter secesserant. Itaque ab imperatore facile quae petebant adepti sunt. Emisae sunt eo cohortes. Ligurum. iiii. et Caius Annus praefectus.

Id oppidum a Sydonijs constructum est / quos accepimus pro fugis esse discordias ciuiles nauibus in eos locos venisse. Caterum situm inter duas Syrtis / quibus nomen ex re inditum.



## The batayle

Nam duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Aphrica: pares magnitudine: pares natura: quorum loca proxima terre palta sunt. Cetera vti fors tulit: alia alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam vbi mare magnum esse scuire ventis cepit: limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutat.

Igitur eius ciuitatis lingua modo conuersa consubio numidarum. leges cultusque pleraque Sydonica: quae eo facilius retinebantur: procul ab imperio regis aetatem agebant. Inter illos et frequentem numidiam multi vastique loci sunt.

**S**ed quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus: non indignum videtur: egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare. Eam rem dicere locus admonuit.

Qua tempestate Carthaginienses plerumque Aphrice imperabant: Cirenenses quoque magni atque opulentissimi fuerunt. Ager in medio arenosus vna specie: neque flumen neque mons erat qui

**F**or about the extreme partes of Affrike be. ii. breeches of the see nere toggeder nat lyke of quantite: but lyke of nature. Of which two breeches those partes which be nereest vnto the land at bery psofonde and depe with hye bankes of sande on euery syde. But the other places nat nere vnto the lande be somtyme depe: somtyme shalowe after the dysposytion of the wyther. For whan the see begynneth in ragynge to be great and tempestuous by mouynge of the wynde than the waues of the see draweth forth of the same places the styll / grauell / and great stones: which in cawme wether were gathered toggeder before in the same places. And thus the facyon / aspecte / and regarde of the same places is mutable and changed at euery tempest and great wynde.

**T**he langage of the cite of Leptis is now chaunged from the langage of Sydoni into numidian langage / by mariages of the numidians. But their lawes / their apparell / and manners (for the most part) styll foloweth the custome of sydoni: which they meynayned & kept styll: somoche the moze easely: by cause they dwelled seprat in the extreme and vtter partes of the countrey farre from the court & frequentacion of kynge of numidy. For bytwene this cyte of Leptis and the welche inhabited partes of numidy be many places deserte and wyde wyldernes bnhabyted for dyenes of the contrey.

**T**he descripcion of that place of Affrike which is named the Phelen auters: and for what cause the same place was first so named. The. xlii. cha.



**A**t for asmoche as by occasyon of this besynes of the cyte of Leptis and their embassadours / I haue made mencyon of their cyte and partly describbed the situacion of the same. Nowe me thynketh it thyng conuenient / and nat vnworthy to recount an excellent and meruaylous dede done in the same coostes by two brethren bozne of the cite of Carthage and namely by cause the place is called the Phylene auters me thynketh it requysite to declare the cause of that denomination. For this place of our hystorie so requirerh.

**W**hat tyme the Carthaginienses had in possession and were lordes ouer the moost part of Affryke: at the same season the Cirenenses also were great and famous of name: and abundant of welth and riches. Than betwene the coostes of these two cities was a great & large felde all ouer spred with sende without diuision / perticion / or difference. But bytwene them

was neyther flod noz mountayne/whiche myght discerne the boundes & marches of bothe their coostes: which thynge caused cōtinuall & longe warre often and great batayls bytwene both parties. But after that many armys on both sydes were ouercome/layne/or put to flyght both by lande & by see and whan both peoples had somewhat wasted the one the other by spoyllynge & murdye: than began they to perceyue their owne folke on both partes feryng lest some other nacion anone after shulde assaile them both the ouercomers and them that were ouercome whan they were wasted & weryed with batayls and brought to extremite: Wherefore this cōspydred: they toke trys bytwene them bothe & to auoyd that long variance bytwene them: they made agrement & cōuenant that messengers or embassadours of bothe parties shulde depart out of their cities at one certayne day and houre assigned. And that same place where the messengers of both the cities shulde mete togyder: shulde be for euer after taken for the boundes and marches of the cōtrey/of both the nations & cities without more contention or variance. To byng this apoyntment to effect & conclusion forth of the cite of Cyren were chosen two for their part and sende forth at the day & houre apoynted. And in lykewyse out of Carthage were send two byeterne/each of them named Phylene which swifly sped them in their iourney. But the Cyreneses went moche more slowly whether it so fortuneth by negligēce or chaūche I knowe but I tell the truerth. But this is knowen for certayne that about those coostes tempeste of wynde & weder is wont to let men and plonge their iourney in lykewyse as vpon the see: and that for this cause. For whan by those euyn places wynde & bare wout any thing growynge on them: the wynde ryseth & spyzeth the small sande from the grounde: the same sande moued by great violence of the wynde is wont to fylle the faces/mouthes and eyen of such as passeth that way with dust & sande. And thus often by lettynge of their syght: their iourney is plonged & hyndred. But after whan the Cyreneses sawe themselves somewhat ouerflowe & late in their iourney: they fered punishment at their retournynge home for their negligēce. And blamyng they accused the Carthaginenses obiectyng & sayeng that they had come forth of their cite before the tyme assigned: and thus they troubled all the mater & brake the ordynance. But shortly to speke these Cyreneses cōcluded rather to suffre deeth and to do any thynge possible than to retourne home agayn ouercoē. Wherefore the Carthaginenses desyred some other cōdition or apoyntment to be made indifferēt & equall bytwene both the parties. The Cyreneses cōsented thereto & put the Carthaginenses in choyse

fines eorum discerneret. Quae res eos i magno disuturnoq; bello inter se habuit. Postq; utrimq; legiones/Item classes saepe fusse fugatasq; alteri alteros aliquatū attriuerant: veriti ne mox victos viatoresq; desectos alii aggrederetur p insidias/spōsionem faciunt/vt certo die legati domo proficiscerentur: et quo in loco inter se obuii fuissent: is communis utriusq; populi finis haberetur.

Igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi: quibus nomen Philenis erat: marauerae iter pergere.

Cirenenses tardius ire: id fecordia ne/an casu acciderit/parum cognoui. Caterum solet in his locis tēpus haud secus atq; in mari retinere hoies. Nam ibi per loca equalia et nuda gignentia ventus coortus arenam humo excitat: ea magna vi agitata/ora oculosq; imple re solet. Ita impedito prospectu morari iter. Postq; cirenenses aliquanto posteriores se esse vident/et ob rem corruptam domi poenas metuunt/criminari Carthaginenses ante tēpus digressos. cōturbare tēpus. Deniq; oīa male q; videri abire. Sed cum pōtū aliā cōditionē tantūmodo aequā peterent: Cirenenses optionē Carthaginensibus faciunt/vt



## The batayle

vel illi quos fines popu-  
lo suo quæterentibus viui  
obruerentur: Veleadē cō-  
ditione sese quē in locum  
vellēt proceluros dimit-  
terēt. Phileni cōditione  
probata seq; vitāq; suam  
reipu. cōdonauerunt: ita vi-  
ui obruti sunt. Carthagi-  
nenses in eo loco Phile-  
nis fratribus aras consec-  
rauerunt: alijq; illis hono-  
res domi instituti.

Nunc ad rem redeo.

whpyther they wold be quicke burped in that same place whi-  
che they despyed for their matches and bouides: or els that the  
Cirenenes vnder the same cōdicion shulde pcede forwarde  
to that place whiche they despyed for their matches and there  
to be quicke burped vnder the same maner. The. ii. bzyethene  
both named Phylene alowed and graunted the cōdicion sub-  
duyng & abandonyng their bodyes to deth for the pofet and  
wele of their contrey & cite of Carthage: and so were they bu-  
ryed quicke. Wherfoze the Carthaginenses in the same place  
where they were burped rased & halowed. ii. auters in woꝝ  
shpp & remēbzance of these two bzyethen which set moze by en-  
crese of their contrey: than by their owne lyues. These auters  
to this pꝛesēt day be called the Phylene auts after the name of  
the. ii. bzyethen named Phylenis therunder burped / as sayd  
is for wele of their contrey: also belpde this memoꝛial win the  
cite of Carthage were many other thingz oꝝdayned to ꝑ gret  
honour of them & remēbzance of their woꝛthy dede. ¶ But  
nowe wyl I leaue this mater & retorne to my purpose.

**C**how Jugurth assembled a newe army of the  
rude getulyans agaynst the romayns: and how  
he associated vnto hym Bocchus kynge of the  
Mauriens to strengthe hym in batayle agaynst  
Metellus. ¶ The. xlii. chapyter.

**I**ugurtha postq̃ amis-  
sa Thala nihil satis fir-  
mum cōtra Metellū pu-  
tat: per magnas solitudi-  
nes cum paucis profectus  
peruenit ad getulos: ge-  
nus hoīm ferum incultū  
q̃et eo tēpore ignarū no-  
minis romani, eorū mul-  
titudinem in vnum coe-  
git: ac paulatim cōsuefa-  
cit ordines habere: signa  
sequi: imperiū obseruare.  
Itē alia militaria facere.

**W**han Jugurth had lost the citie of Cha-  
la / one of the strongest cities of his lande (as sayd  
is before) than he consydered well that in all his  
kyngdome was no place stronge ynough to re-  
syst the myght of Metellus. Wherfoze he hasted  
hym with a small cōpany thꝛough desertes and great wylder-  
nesse flepyng from his owne contrey. And at last he came to the  
lande of Getulians whiche is a maner of people rude / wylde /  
& without oꝝder or maners: and at that season nought know-  
yng of the pꝛeemynēt honour & fame of the romayne empire.  
Of this people Jugurth assembled a multitude togyder and  
by lptell & lptell enduced & taught them by custome and exer-  
cise to folowe the oꝝder of chꝛualty: to kepe array / to insue  
their standerdes / to obey the cōmaundementes of their capi-  
tayns / to discerne and haue knowlege of the signifiāunce of  
foundes of trumpettes: and to obserue all other poyntes be-  
longyng to warfare & chꝛualty. These chyngz with otherlike  
necessary to batayle / Jugurth ceassed nat to prepare and oꝝ-  
dayne with all diligence. . .

¶ Moeuēt

**C** Bocchus he prouoked into his fauour and felowshipp by great rewardes & moch gretter promises suche as were most nere frendes to Bocchus kyng of the mauries: by whose helpe he hymselfe went to the kyng Bocchus & moche desyred hym in his quarell with hym to warre agaynst the romayns. To this request of Jugurth Bocchus agreed (somoch the moze for asmoche as at first beynnyng of the same warre: this Bocchus sent vnto Rome embassadours to desyre of the romayns ampte and a bonde of cōtinuall peace byt wene hym & them. But nat withstandyng that this petition & peace was moche expediet & necessary to the romayns for diuerse cōsideracions and namely bycause of this warre. Nat the lesse it was nat graūted by meane of a fewe such as at Rome blynded w aua rice: were wont to sell for money euery thyng both honest and dishonest. Also befor this tyme the daughter of Jugurth was spoused to the sayed Bocchus. But this bonde of frendshipp or affinite among the numidiēs & mauriens: is reputed but of effect: bycause they at wont euery man to haue diuerse & many wpyes acor dyng to their substāce & richesse. Some. x. and some mo: after as they ar of abylyte or power to mēcapne. But the kyngs bycause they ar of most power & substāce: they foze haue they mo than an other. Thus is their mynde and fauour distract & diuersly deuyded from all their wpyes for the multitude of thē: and bycause they haue so many so that they reterue none for their spectall bedfelow. Wherfoze they all ar reputed byle / & lytell set by: after one maner. Thus the affinite byt wene these two kyngs Jugurth & Bocchus / was lytell set by and small thyng auayled in this besynesse. Nat withstandyng both they & their hooftes cāe togyder in a place apoynted therto: where after that they had gyuen & taken sayth and truerth one to other of fidelite / to be obserued byt wene them Jugurth greatly inhauiced & lyfted by the mynde of Bocchus with his wordes sayeng that the romains were iniust ground in auarice without suffisance or measure. And cōmen enemies to euery man and to euery contrey: and that they had asmoche quarell agaynst Bocchus / as agaynst hym. And one selfe cause to warre agaynst them both: and also agaynst many other nacions / whiche cause was but onely the pleasure of great lordshipp & riches. So that for the same cause all kyngs comes to thē were aduers & cōtrary / and that he hymselfe to them was enemy for the same cause. And nat longe befoze that tyme the Carthaginēses: and affwarde Perses kyng of Macedony were subdued & vndone by the romayns without any iust tyle or cause of batayle: saue onely ambition & enuy whiche the romayns had agaynst them. And that in tyme to come

Jugurth.

L. i.

Præterea regis Bocchi proximus magnis muneribus et maioribus promissis ad studium sui pellicitus quis adiutoribus regem aggressus impellit uti aduersus romanos bellum incipiat. Id ea gratia facilius proniusque fuit quod Bocchus in initio huius belli legatos romam miserat: sedus et amicitiam petivit. Quam rem opportunissimam incepto bello pauci impedierant. ceteri auaritia quis quia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Etiam antea Jugurtha filia Boccho nuptiatur. Verum ea necessitudo apud numidas maurosque levis datur: quod singulis pro opibus quisque plurimas uxores: alij denas alij plures habeat. Sed reges eo amplius ita animi multitudinem distrahitur: nullam pro socia obtrinet: pariter omnes viles sunt.

Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conueniunt ibi fide data & accepta Jugurtha Bocchi animus oratione accendit: romanos iniustos protunda auaritia: communes omnium hostes esse eandem causam famulos belli habere cum Boccho quam secum et cum alijs gentibus: libidinem imperandi.

Quis quia regna aduersa sunt tum sese: ante paulo carthaginenses. Item regem Persen. post uti quisque opulētissimus videatur: ita romanis hostes fore.



## The batayle

**H**ic atq; alijs talibus ad  
Cirtham oppidum cōsti-  
tuunt q; ibi Quintus Me-  
tellus prēdā captiuosq; &  
impedimenta locauerat.

**I**ta Iugurtha ratus aut  
capta vebe operā pretiū  
fore aut si romanus dux  
auxilio sui venisset prae-  
lio sese certaturos.

**N**ā callidus id modo se-  
stinabat Bocchi pacem i-  
minuere ne moras agitā  
do aliud q; bellū mallet,

euery nacion whiche shulde haue welth and richesse shuld be-  
come ennemites to the romayns for their inordynat pride & in-  
satiabie couetyse.

**W**ith these wordes and otherlyke Iugurth moued the  
mynde of Bocchus agaynst the romayns. In somoche that  
anone a day was apoynted bytwene bothe the kynges to pro-  
cede forth togyder to the towne of Cirtha / and to assaile the  
same with both their powers conioyned. This towne they  
purposed first of all to besige: bycause Metellus had left with  
in the same towne his prayes and prisoners which he had tak-  
en of Iugurth. And also moche of his owne ordynance had  
he left there to a boyde impedymment in his voyage. Thus  
Iugurth thought most expedient to do. For if he myght wynn  
the towne by assaut before the rescous of Metellus: he  
thought that shuld be moost to his honour and profet. Wher-  
of the romayne capitayne Metellus / and his army shulde  
come to socours of the towne: than thought he that there  
both hymselfe and Bocchus shuld geue batayle to Metellus.  
Iugurth for craft and subtylte hasted hereto somoche the mo-  
re to tangle Bocchus in the warre before any place shulde be  
moued bytwene hym & the romayns. And lest the same Boc-  
chus by prologynge of the tyme myght rather encline to peace  
than to warre after he at leasour shuld haue taken better coun-  
sell and aduiseement. For Iugurth suspected at begynnynge  
that Metellus in procelse of tyme wolde despyze this Bocchus  
nat to medyll in this warre assystynge the part of Iugurth nor  
mentayning his cause.

**W**hen Metellus vsed hymselfe herynge th at  
these two kynges were confederat agaynst hym  
and how after he was certifyed that the prouyn-  
ce of Numidy was assigned to Marius the new  
consull: he ceased the warre for the nones.

### The .xlviii. chapyter.

**I**mperator postq; de res-  
gum societate cognos-  
uit non temere; neq; vti  
sapeia victo Iugurtha cō-  
sueuerat: oibus locis pu-  
gnandi copiam facit.  
Ceterum haud procul a  
Cirtha castris munitis re-

**W**henne Metellus knewe that the two  
kynges were associate togyder: he thought nat  
to fyght with them callhelp without prouysion:  
nor in euery place for his aduantage or nat as he  
was wont to do often tymes before after the first  
tyme that he had ouercome Iugurth. But within his felde  
well and surely defended he kept hymselfe abydinge the com-  
fynge of the two kynges: and that nat farre from the towne

of Cirtha. This dyd he thynking it best to know the myght/ maners/and condicions of the mauritens first: or he wold fight with them: because they were but newe enemies and therfore their maners vnknewen to hym. And whan he sawe his best auantage than thought he to gyue them batayle.

**I**n the meane tyme whyle Metellus tarped the commyng of the two kynges: letters were brought vnto hym from Rome: which certified hym that the prouince of Numidy was committed and gyuen to Marius the newe consull. For he had herbe longe before this tyme that the sayd Marius was elect consull: but this was the first tyme that he vnderstode the prouince of Numidy committed to hym. For this cause was Metellus moued & displeased moche more than longed to measure or honesty. In somoch that he coulde neyther refrayne his eyes from wepyng nor measure his tong from spekyng yll by Marius. This Metellus was a synghuler noble and worthy man in all other condicions: but the displeasure of his mynde he toke ouer womanly & tenderly to his hert/and name in this cause. Which condicion: some repured to procede of a proude hert of Metellus. And other some thought it no meruayle though his noble hert were moued and kyndled with anger: for this iniury and wrong done to hym. And many sayd that Metellus toke so great sorowe and displeasure: because the victorie which he had almost obtayned shoulde be pulled out of his handes his selfe hauyng the labour and payll/and another man the tryumphe and honour. But to be playne in the mater and indifferently to write: it was nat vnknewen to the wyldest romayns / but that the dignite/auauncement/and honour of Marius greued Metellus: moche more than dyd his owne iniury. And that he wolde nat haue taken it so heuely if the prouince of Numidy which was taken from hym had ben gyuen to any other noble men than to Marius. Wherefore Metellus was let from his first besynesse for the sayd displeasure so that he purposed nat to bere hymselfe from thenforth with our thanke or profet. And also he thought it folly to take in hande the charge of another mannes mater to his owne payll/labour/and payne. Wherefore he send messangers to the kyng Bocchus/despying hym nat to become enemy to the romayns without occasion. And sayeng that he was as yet in such case that he myght adioyne with the romayns fellowship/love/and amptye: which shoulde be moche better to hym & more profitable than batayle. And how best he trusted greatly in his power/richeffe/and treasoure: yet ought he nat to change certayne thynges/ for thynges incertayne. For every batayle to begyn is easie and lyght: but it is verie harde thyng to ende

Jugurth.

L.ii.

ges operitur: melius esse ratus cognitis Mauris (quonia is nouus hostis accesserat) ex commodo pugnam facere.

Interim Roma per litteras certior fuit Mario prouinciam numidiam datam. Nam consulem factum iam antea acceperat quibus rebus supra ac honestum periculus: neque lacrimas tenere neque moderari linguam ut egregius in alijs artibus nimis molliter agnitudinem pati.

Quam rem alij in superbiam vertebant: alij bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse.

Multi quia parua victoria ex manibus eriperetur. Nobis satis cognitum est illum magis honore Marij quam iniuria sua ex cruciatum: neque tam anxie latitum fuisse si adempta prouincia alij quam Mario traderetur. Igitur eo dolore ipeditus et quia stulticia videbatur alienam rem suo periculo curare: legatos ad Bocchum misit postulatū: ne sine causa hostis populi romani fieret: habere tamen magnam copiam societatis amicitiarum coniungenda: que potior bello esset quam opibus suis consideret tamen non debere certa propter ceteris mutare. Omne Bellum sumi facile: ceterum agerrime desinere non in eius



## The batayle

dem potestate initium es-  
sus ac finem esse. incipere  
re: cuius etiam ignauo  
licere deponi autem cum  
victores velint.

Proinde sibiq; regno cons-  
suleret: neu florentes res  
suas cum Iugurthæ pers-  
ditis misceret.

Ad ea rex satis placide  
verba facit: sese pacē cus-  
pere. Sed Iugurthæ fors  
tunarum misereri.  
Si eadem illi copia fieret  
omnia conuentura.

Rufus imperator cōtra  
postulata Bocchi nuntia-  
os mittit: ille probare po-  
tuit alia obnuere.

Ex modo sape ab utroq;  
missis remissisq; nuntiis  
tempus procederet ex  
Metelli voluntate bellū  
intestum trahi.

the same whan it is ones begon. The begynning and endyn-  
ge therof: is nat alway in the power of one same man. For  
warre may be/ begon of a coward: or of any other wretch: but  
it can nat be left of agayne / nor ceased but whan it pleaseth  
hym which is strongest/ and is maister hauyng the upper  
hande. And finally he had hym better to prouide for hymselfe  
and for his kyngdome than he began to do: and nat to adioy-  
ne nor myngle his goodes/ treasure/ & fortune: which were in  
estate rovall florissyng with the goodes and fortune of Ju-  
gurth: which were lost and destroyed to the vttermoost. The  
embassadours of Metellus came to kyng Bocchus & shewed  
hym their capitayns wyll: as is sayd befoze vnder suche sen-  
tence. To the whiche wordes of Metellus / Bocchus answer-  
ed agayne benignely and mekely ynough sayng that he des-  
pyed nothyng moze than peace: saue that he had pyte & com-  
passion of the aduers & miserable fortune of Iugurth / but if  
the same Iugurth myght be suffred also to haue frendshipp  
and ampte with the romayns & forgyuenesse: than sayd Boc-  
chus that he wolde gladly agre to euery thyng he despyed of  
Metellus/ and euery thyng shuld be accorded bytwene them.  
The capitayne Metellus heyrng this answer of Bocchus:  
agayne sent messangers to hym replenyng agaynst his reques-  
tes and sayenge that some of his petitions were agaynst in-  
stice & reason: also Metellus by these embassadours despyed  
many other thyngs of Bocchus/ of whome Bocchus graun-  
ted & allowed some: and other some of them he denyed. After  
this maner the tyme ouerpassed and proceded forth/ massan-  
gers often goyng and comynge bytwene them bothe: so that  
by suche maner the warre and batayle remayned vntouch-  
ed and depended nat medled with: as Metellus dyd greatly con-  
ueyt and despye in mynde bycause he wolde kepe sure that law-  
de which he had wonne: and also for that to his owne paryl &  
dammage he wolde nat auantage nor auance Marius: in  
thyng which to hym belonged.

But here wyll I leaue to speke of Metellus/ and retourne  
to speke of Marius whiche contrary to the wyll of all the no-  
ble men of Rome was creat consull by fauour of the comens:  
lykewyse as I haue wryten befoze.

Of the great ordynafice and preparacyon whi-  
che Marius the newe cōsull made agaynst  
Iugurth and for the warre of Ru-  
midy. The. xlix.  
Chappter.



**M**arius (as I haue sayde before) was elect consull/at great desyre and instaunce of the comen people: whiche also comytted to hym the prouince of Numidy. Marius seying hym selfe thus auanced: where he was euer agaynst the noble men of Rome before/nowe was he specially fiers of mynde/and stately. And besy to displease and hurt the states: some tyme one by one/and other whyle altogyder. He often tymes boosted & sayd that he had gotten the consullshyp of them maugre their wyl / as if it were a pray or spoyling gotten of his ennemys: and of men ouercome. Many other boostyng words spake he to his owne commendacion / and to great displeasure and anger vnto the estates of Rome. But in the meane tyme he forgat nat to prepare euery thyng necessary to the warre: wherof the charge rested on hym to execute the same agaynst Jugurth from then forth. He demaunded of the senators & comens newe supplement of souldyours to repare and restore the army which was in Numidy with Metellus. For many of them were slayne/and many deed of sicknesse: thus was the army sore deminished. He called also for souldiers of suche nations as marched to thempire. And of kynge whiche were confederate and had contoynd feloweshyp with the romayns. Moreouer he rayled bp in Italy and nere about Rome/ as many as were strongest & bolde mennes bodys. And namely such as he hymselfe had proued before in warre: and suche as in warfare were proued by dedes: and nat suche as were boosted by fame. And namely olde souldyours which had longe haunted the warre and were pardoned therof. So that it was in the power of no man to cōstrayn them to warre without their owne fre assent: bycause that they had continued styll in warre the season to them assigned of their captayns. These treated Marius with so fayre flatteryng and paynted wordes/that they were redy to go with hym in warfare. And howbeit that the senators were contrary to hym: yet durst they nothyng deny vnto hym belongyng to his besynesse: but gladly and with good wyl they decreed that he shulde rayse and chuse souldyours to fulfyll the nombze of them which were lost in batayle in the contrey of Numidy. But this dyd they for no gret loue which they had to Marius: for they thought that he shuld lese outhet the execution of the batayle which he intended with Jugurth: or els the fauour of the people which wold refuse to go forth to warre. So that if Marius cōstrayned them: their olde loue myght tourne into newe malice and hatred agaynst hym. But this thyng was trusted but in bayne of the senators: for the moost part of the comens had

Jugurth.

L. lxx.

**A**T Marius (vt supra diximus) cupientis sima plebe consul factus/postq̄ ei prouinciā Numidiā populus iussit: antea iā infestus nobilitati: tū vero multus & ferox instare. modo singulos: modo vniuersos ledere. Dictitare sese consulatū ex victis quasi illis spoliis a cōpisse. alia p̄terea magnifica pro se et illis dolentia. Interim que bello opus erant prima habere: postulare legionibus supplementum: auxilia a populis et regibus sociisq; accersere.

Præterea ex latio fortissimū quemq; plerosq; militum paucos fama/cognitos accire: et ambiendo cogere hoies emeritis stipendijs proficisci: neque illi senatus q̄q; aduersus erat: de villo negotio abnuere audebat.

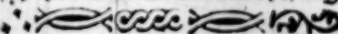
Cæterum supplementum etiam latus decreuerat: quia/neq; plebe militiam volente/putabatur Marius: aut belli vsum/aut studia vulgi amissurus.

Sed ea res frustra sperata: tanta libido cum Mario eundi plerosq; inuas-



## The batayle

ferat: sese quisq; præda  
locupletem fore: victorẽ  
domum rediturum: alia  
huiusmodi ais attra-  
hebant: et eos non paulu-  
lum oratione sua Mari-  
us arrexit. Nam postq̃  
oibus decretis quæ postu-  
lauerat: milites scribere  
vult hortandi causa/ si-  
mul et nobilitatem (vñ  
consueuerat) exagitandi  
concionem populi aduo-  
cauit. Deinde hoc modo  
dixerunt.

an inestimable desyre to go to batayle with Marius. For  
euery man cast in his mynde to be enriched by prayes & spoy-  
lynge of warre. And that moze is: to retourne home agayne  
victours with moche honour and triumphe. These thynges  
and otherlyke: they conspyred/ whiche caused them gladly to  
folowe Marius/ and also Marius dyd nat a lytell enbolde &  
confort the it myndes with his exhortacion. For whan euery  
thyng which he desyred of the senatours was conformed and  
decreed by them. And whan Marius shuld assemble his sou-  
dyours: he thought to put them in confort by exhortacion/ and  
also to trouble & displease the states of Rome as he was wont  
to do: and to chafe their myndes. Wherefore he assembled and  
called togyder a great company of the comen people/ and  
spake to them by exhortacion and confortyng of them as  
herafter ensueth. .  


The orison or exhortacion of the consull Mari-  
us: had to the comen people of Rome before his  
voyage into Numidy/ whiche exhortacion is de-  
monstratyue contaynyng the laude and prayse  
of Marius: and dysprayse and blames of the no-  
ble men of Rome. The .i. chapyter.

**S**cio ego Quirites ple-  
rosq; non isdem arti-  
bus imperiũ a vobis  
petere: et postq̃ adepti sũt  
gerere. Primo industrios/  
supplices/ modicos esse:  
dehinc per ignauiam et  
supbiam etatem agere.

Sed mihi contra videtur:  
Nam quo pluris vniuersi  
respu. est q̃ consulatus  
aut prætura: maiore cu-  
ra illam administrari q̃  
hæc peti debere.

Neq; me fallit/ q̃tum cum  
maximo vestro beneficio  
negotij sustineam. Bellũ  
parare/ simul et æratio pe-  
cere: cogere ad militiam  
eos quos nolis offendere:



**R**ight worthy cytezens/ I knowe  
well that many of these estatates of aunciet  
name haue nat themselfe behaued after one  
maner of cõdicion in desyryng of you hono-  
rable dignities and great offices: and in  
administracion and gouernynge of them  
after they haue optayned the same of you.

For whyle they make their pettitions: at begynnynge they be  
dyligent/serutable/meke/and curtayse of behauoure. But  
whan they haue optayned their desyre: than passe they their  
tyme in slouth/pdernes/and pryde. But it semeth to me in my  
mynde that they ought to do moche contrarely. For of howe  
moch moze valour the hole comen wayle is: than is the cõsul/  
shyp thoffice of the hy iudge/ or any other great office: with  
somoche moze diligence & charge shulde the hole comen wele  
be gouerned/ than suche dignities or offices desyred of you.  
For I am nat ignorant but knowe right well how great the  
benefite is that ye haue gyuen to me: and howe great charge  
and besynesse therto belongynge is layed vpon me withall: whi-  
che besynes I nedes must sustayne. That is to say: to prepa-

re and make redy an army / withall other thynges necessary  
to batayle and to execute the same : & neuertheless to spare the  
comen treasour. To compell to warfare and batayle: suche as  
a man wolde nat greue nor displease : that is you the comen-  
tie of Rome : whome I wolde nat displease by any meanes.  
To take charge and care for every thyng within the cite and  
without. And to do such thynges among envious gentylmen  
objectyng and layeng agaynst me in every thyng whiche I  
go about / as men full of disorde and variance. Verily no-  
ble citezins among suche men to take in hande suche charges  
it is moze harde and thyng of moze dyfficultie / than any  
man can thynke or deuyse. And mozeouer: as for other cōsuls  
whiche haue ben before my tyme / whan they haue done any  
thyng amysse: than their olde noblenesse / the strong and va-  
lyant actes of their predecessors / the riches & power of their  
frendes and kynsmen: and their many chyntes and seruaunts  
of them retayned : all these haue suppoxted and mentayned  
them in their mysdedes. But all my richesse and helpe / and  
trust of confort whiche I haue / is in my selfe & nat in my kyns-  
men or other fauourers: whiche abyde of my selfe I must of ne-  
cessite defende with my vertue / strenght / and innocence. For  
all other thynges whiche these auncient noble men haue to de-  
fende them be vn sure to me for I haue them nat. Farther moze  
noble citezins this I vnderstande that all ye haue good trust  
and confidence in me: and that all such as be equall / iust / and  
good: haue fauour vnto me. For I knowell that my good de-  
des hath profited the comen wayle. And neuertheless these  
noble men seke occasiōs agaynst me / inuadyng and assay-  
lyng me with their malice and enuy. Wherefore it standeth me  
in hande of necessity to labour somoche the moze besely and  
quickely: that neyther ye be disceyued in this great trust whi-  
che ye haue in me: and also that all the purposes of myne pl-  
wylers & aduersaries / may be frustrate and nothyng auayle  
agaynst me. Forsooth I haue euer from my chyldhode vnto  
this age ben of suche behauour that I haue ben accustomed &  
exercysed in all maner labours and payle: whiche I suffred  
and toke patiently for the comen wele without any rewarde  
before this your benefite and honour whiche ye haue now  
gyuen to me. Wherefore worthy citezins / sayng þe haue now  
rewarded me better than I am worthy: I haue nat purpo-  
sed to despyse nor leaue of myne olde goodwyl anent þe comen  
wele: nor now I / rewarded of you purpose nat to omitt my  
good dedes whiche I dyd feely before vnto rewarded. But tou-  
chyng these auncient gentylmen: it is very hard for the to tem-  
per themselfe beyng in power or dignite whiche onely dyd but

domi forisq; omnia cura  
re: et ea agere inter inui-  
dos occurrētes / factiosos  
opiniōe quiritēs aspe-  
rius est.

Ad hoc alij si deliquere:  
verus nobilitas: maiorū  
fortia facta: cognatorum  
et affinium opes: multū  
clientelā omnia praesidio  
adsunt.

Mihi spes omnes in me  
met sita: quas necesse est  
et virtute et innocentia  
tutari: nam alia infirma  
sunt. Et illud intelligo  
Quirites omnium ora i me  
conuersa esse: æquos bo-  
nosq; fauere: quippe mea  
benefacta respu. proce-  
dunt: nobilitatem inua-  
dendi me querere locum.  
Quo mihi acriter adniten-  
dū est: vti neq; vos capias-  
mini: et illi frustrati sit.

Ita ad hoc ætatis a pue-  
ritia fui: vt omnes labo-  
res et pericula consueta  
habeam: quæ ante vestra  
beneficia gratuito facies-  
bam: ea vti accepta met-  
cede deferam: non est con-  
siliū / Quirites.

Illis difficile est in pote-  
statibus tempore: qui per  
ambitionem lese probos



## The batayle

Simulauere. mihi qui om-  
nem aetate in optimis ar-  
tibus ægi: benefacere iā  
ex consuetudine in natu-  
ram conuertitur.

Belum gerere me cū Iu-  
gurtha iussistis: quā rem  
nobilitas ægerrime tulit.  
queso reputate cum ani-  
mis vestris: num id muta-  
ri melius sit: si quem ex  
illo globo nobilitatis ad  
hoc negotium: aut ad al-  
liud tale mittatis homi-  
nem veteris profapiæ: ac  
multarum imaginum: et  
nullius stipendij: scilicet  
ut in tāta re ignarus om-  
niū trepidet: festinet: su-  
mat aliquē ex p̃p̃lo mo-  
nitorē sui officij: ita ple-  
rūque euenit: ut quē vos  
impare iussistis: is sibi im-  
peratorē alium quærat.

Atq; ego scio quiritēs q̃  
postq̃ cōsules facti sunt:  
acta maiorum: et græcorū  
militaria præcepta lege-  
re cœperunt: hoēs præpos-  
teri: nam gerere q̃ fieri  
tempore posterius: res at-  
que vsu prius est.

Comparete nunc Quiri-  
tes cum illorum superbis  
iūne hominem nouum.

sayne themselfe good and honest befoze they optayned promo-  
cyon/to thintent to come therby to honoure and dignite. But  
where as I haue passed all my lyfe in right good occupaciōs  
by cōtinuall custome it is roted in me to do well: & this custo-  
me is tourned with me into nature. Treuth it is: that ye haue  
cōmaunded me to warre agaynst Jugurth: whiche thyng  
these noble men taketh very greuously. I requyre you consy-  
der and dyscus in your myndes and in your inwarde consi-  
deracion/ponder ye: whyther it be better/moze necessary and  
expedient to change the same your commaundemēt agayne:  
and to sende forth some other of that sort of auncient gentyl-  
men vnto this besynesse agaynst Jugurth oꝛ els to any other  
lyke. Send forth a noble man of olde auncetry: in honoure  
and remembrance of whome many ymages may be made &  
ereet oꝛ set bp on hy. But of polycie of chynaltry oꝛ warfare  
is he bttely ignorant and inexpert. Wyl ye change your pur-  
pose and sende forth suche one to warfare at pleasure of these  
gentylmen/as who sayeth: that is best to be done for this cau-  
se. To thintent that in so great a mater and wighty besynesse:  
suche a captayne moze ignorant and ferefull than any of all  
his soudpours/shalbe chosen of you whiche anone after shal  
chuse forth agayne some one of the comen people to be his  
maister: to informe and teche hym in suche besynesse as to his  
office and charge belongeth: hymselfe beyng ignorant of eue-  
ry thyng necessary to be done. By this meane it often fortu-  
neth: that he whome ye oꝛdayne to be captayne and cōmaun-  
der of your army: dothe chose an other to be captayne and  
commaunder ouer hymselfe. In somoche that (if ye indiffe-  
rently iudge) he: whome ye chose for capitayne is moche moze  
mete to be made a symple soudpours/ than a capitayn ouer  
other. And also worthy citezins: I knowe some of these noble  
men so farre out of order that whan they haue ben made con-  
suls: than haue they gauen themselfe to redyng of the actes of  
their elders and predecessours. And of the grekes preceptes  
of chynaltry: which doutlesse may well be called men without  
order/for this cōsideracion. For they shulde by due order first  
lerne to rule their office befoze they shulde take vpon them the  
charge therof. But they do contrary. First they take charge  
of office and than after lerne to rule it by way iordinate: how  
beit euery wylseman wyl first lerne to gonerne an office befo-  
re he desyre it oꝛ take vpon hym the rule therof. But these esta-  
tes contrarily demeane themselfe. Thus worthy citezins cō-  
pare me a newe gentylman with their immoderate pryde and  
take diligent consideration whiche is best: to be nat gentyll of  
byrth and lowly and gentyll of maners: oꝛ els to be gentyll of

blode/and proude and vngentyll of maners. Of such theyn-  
ges as they be wont to here & to rede: some haue I sene / and  
some I my selfe haue done. I haue lerned that by excepte of  
chpualtie/which they haue lerned by redyng. Nowe Iudge &  
cōsider ye: whyther is better of dedes or markes: of redyng  
and doyng. They dyspyce my neweltie of honour & banoble  
lynage: and I dyspyce the vncraftynesse & slouth of them. My  
happy fortune is objected of them agaynst me as to rebuke:  
but shame and dishonest behauour/ may be objected & layed  
agaynst them in rebuke. Is it nat truely that every man is  
come of one lyke nature. I cōsider & knowe well that one man  
is nat better nor moze noble than an other: but if it be by his  
wysdome/ good maners/ vertu/ and strength. And I cōsider  
well that euery man the moze that he is endued with vertue:  
the moze excellēt & noble is he. Thus is the strongest/ wyldest/  
and moost vertuous/ moost excellent in noblenesse.

But yf the fathers of Albinus/ and of Calphurnius: late  
consuls and captayns in Romye/ to the great dishonoure  
and damage of this empire/ were now lyueng that it myght  
be inquryed of them whether they had leuer that I had bene  
begotten of them: or els the sayd Albinus and Calphurnius:  
What thynke ye they wolde answer. Forsoyth nought els (as  
I suppose) but that they wolde despyre and couet good chyl-  
dren and honozable lynage to procede of their stocke and ge-  
neracion. Thus syth it is so: that these estates dyspyseth me:  
reasonably and of ryght lette them also dyspyce their owne  
predecessours and foresathers/ of whose stocke and lynage  
they proceded: which came to noblenes and honour: nat by  
their auncettry: but by their owne strength/ wysdome/ and  
vertue: lyke wyse as I haue done. They haue enuy at this  
myne honour. Than lette them also haue enuy at my labours  
taken for defence of the cōmen wayle: let them enuy myne in-  
nocēce and great perylls/ which I haue ouercome. For by these  
meanes I haue obtayned & also shall mentayne this honour  
which they so greatly enuy. But these men corrupt by pryde:  
after ye haue promoted them to worshipp: so pas forth their ty-  
me as yf they lette nought by your offices and honours by  
you optayned: but bitterly dyspyled them. Thus they despyre  
such dignities of duety: as if they were worthy and deserued  
to haue them by their honest lyueng and vertuous conuer-  
sation. But certaynly they be greatly dysceyued whiche loketh  
after two thynges cōtrary bothe togyder & at one season. So  
do these noble men. For they wold haue the voluptuous plea-  
sure of slouth & ydelnesse/ and the rewardes due vnto vertue  
and labozious diligence. But whan these gentylmen bitter

Quæ illi audire et lege-  
re solent: eorum partem  
vidi: alia egomet gessi: &  
illi litteris/ ego ea militā-  
do didici: nunc vos existi-  
mate facta an dicta plus  
ris sint. Contemnunt no-  
uitatem meam: ego illos  
ignauiam: mihi fortuna:  
illis probra obiectantur:  
quæ ego naturam vnam et  
cōmunem oīum existimo:  
sed fortissimum quemq;  
generosissimum esse.

At si iam ex patribus Al-  
binis/ aut Bestiis/ quæti pos-  
set/ me ne/ an illos ex se gi-  
gni maluerint: quid re-  
sponduros creditis/ nisi  
se se liberos quæ optimos  
voluisse.

Quæ si iure despiciunt me:  
faciant idem maioribus  
suis: quibus vti mihi/ ex  
virtute nobilitas cœpit.

Inuident honori meo: et  
go inuidant labori/ & in-  
nocentiam/ periculis etiā  
meis: quoniam per hæc illū  
honorem cœpi.  
Verū corrupti homines su-  
bia/ ita ætatem agūt/ quā  
si vestros honores contem-  
nant: ita hos petunt/ quā-  
si honeste vixerint.

Næ illi falsa sunt/ qui di-  
uersissimas res pariter  
expectant: ignauia volu-  
ptatem/ et præmia virtu-  
tis. Atque etiam cum apud  
vos aut i senatu verba  
faciunt/ plerūq; orati-



## The batayle

one maiores suos extol-  
lunt: eorum fortia facta  
memoranda: clariores es-  
se putant: quod contra est.  
Nam quanto vita eorum  
præclarior: tanto horum  
secordia flagitiosior. Et  
profecto ita se res habet.  
Maiorū gloria quasi pos-  
teris lumen est: neque bo-  
na neque mala eorum in  
occulto patitur.

Huiusce rei ego iopiam  
patior quiritis. Verū id  
quod multo preclari⁹ est:  
meamet facta mihi dice-  
re licet. Nūc videte: q̄ in-  
iqui sunt: quod ex aliena  
virtute sibi arrogant: id  
mihi ex mea non conce-  
dūt: scilicet q̄ imagines  
non habeo: et quia mihi  
nova nobilitas est: quam  
certe peperisse melius est:  
q̄ acceptam corrupisse.

Equidem non ignoro: si  
iam respondere velint: a-  
bunde illis facundam et  
compositam orationem  
fore. Sed in máximo ves-  
tro beneficio cum oībus  
locis me vosq; maledicti  
lacerent: non placuit res-  
ticere: ne quis modestiā  
in conscientiam duceret.

Nam me equidem ex ani-  
mi sententia nulla oratio  
o lādere pōt: quippe ve-

their wordes befoze you oꝛ speke befoze the senatours: than in  
the moost part of their speche they exalt and commende their  
auncetꝝ weyning to be couēted moze noble and excellent by re-  
countyng and reducyng to remembrance the baltant dedes  
of their progenitours. But it is nothyng so. For how moche  
moze excellent the same a honour of their progenitour was:  
somoch moze shamefull and reprouable is this cowardy pde-  
nesse of these gentylmen nowe spueyng which so farre go out  
of kynde from the honozable conuersacion of their progeny-  
tours: as if they had neuer dyscended of them. And verely  
this is certayne: the gloriouse dedes and honozable of forefa-  
thers be lyke an exاملة oꝛ luminary vnto their offspringe oꝛ  
progeny. So that the same lyght suffreth neyther the good de-  
des noꝛ bad of their progeny to be hyd. For yf the progeny ba-  
rie from the gloriouse actes of their progenitours than the ho-  
nour of both is distayned: but if they folowe them in vertue/  
than the lyght and gloise of the progenitours shyneth moze  
radiantly by vertue of their progeny. Of this laude and ho-  
nour of my progeny I can nat boost me for they were but of  
base degre. Their dedes can nat auāce me noꝛ make me no-  
ble. But it is lawfull to me to speke of myne owne dedes whi-  
che laude is moche moze clere and excellent than to boost of  
other mennes actes. But nowe cōsyder ye how vncyghtwysse  
these gentylmen be to me: they wyl nat graunt me that laude  
and honoure by myne owne vertue and actes: whiche they  
blurpe and proudeby take vpon them: by vertue and dedes of  
other men. And wherfoze thynke ye do they this? Plainly I  
suppose bycause I haue no ymages of my progenitours ex-  
alted in remembrance of them as these gentylmen haue: and  
bycause my noblenesse it but newe and springyng. But theires  
is auncient and by their dysorder decayng. But certenly I  
counte it moze better and honozable to be rote and begynnet  
of noblenesse vnto all my progeny and to leue the same vnto  
my branches: than to corrupt and defile noblenesse receyued  
of my progeny: as many of these gentylmen do. Forsoth I  
am nat ignozant but that yf these estates were nowe present  
shulde and were to my wordes their speche shuld be abundantly  
paynted/ornate/and elegant ynough. But syth they cease nat  
to blame and reuple with their lewde wordes in euery place  
both you and me for this your great office which ye haue gy-  
uen vnto me: it hath nat pleased me to be still noꝛ to kepe se-  
crete their fautes: lest some myght count culpable and  
woxyth their rebukes: by reason of myne indyscrete pacien-  
ce and splence. Neuerthelesse sothely their wordes can nat  
greue noꝛ hurt me: after the conscience of myne owne mynde.

For if they say trueth they can nought say but good and woꝝ  
 shpp by me: but if they wyll nedes lye on me my maners / my  
 lpyng / and couerfacion is suche that I shall ouercome theiꝝ  
 woꝝdes & pꝛoue theiꝝ in iust accuſementes fayned and false.  
 But syth your counsell is blamed of these noble men bycauſe  
 se ye haue comytted to me this great honoure & gretter besy-  
 nesse: cōsyder ye in your myndes diligently & often whither  
 ye shall nedes to repent you of this dede oꝛ nat. To say trueth  
 I can nat boost my selfe of the ymagis of my pꝛeſent's noꝝ I  
 can nat recoꝛde vnto you the triumphes oꝛ cōsulshpps of myne  
 auncestꝛ. But if the mater requyꝛed: I coude well shewe vnto  
 you speres / standerdes / hoꝛse / trappers / harnessse: with ma-  
 ny other rewardes of chynalꝛy: some gꝛuen to me of thempe-  
 rour / and some of other captayns for myne actes in batayle.  
 And other some which with myne handis I haue won of them  
 nemies of the empyre. I coude also if it neded shewe you in  
 the foꝛe part of my body many folde scarres of many & large  
 woundes whiche I haue taken in good woꝛth for defence of  
 our countrey and cōmen wele. These be my ymagis whiche I  
 can shewe. This is my noblenes: nat leste to me by heritage  
 (as theirs is to them) but noblenes whiche I haue won & go-  
 ten with great & foꝛe labours of my body & pꝛyll of my lyfe.  
 My woꝝdes be nat oꝛdeꝛed in dꝛate langage noꝝ my spech  
 paynted with rethorike lyke theirs for I let lytell therby. My  
 vertue sheweth it selfe playnely ynough without glosed oꝛ  
 paynted woꝝdes. But these noble men must of necessity haue  
 craft for to couer theiꝝ shamefull and vngoodly dedes / with  
 this eloquent woꝝdes / theiꝝ crafty & rethorike speche. Noꝝ as  
 for me: I neuer lerne the greke letters noꝝ langage / whiche  
 thyng these estates object agaynst me: as a great fault. But to  
 be playne: my pleasure was neuer moche to lerne such thyng-  
 ges / whiche haue lytell auayled vnto the techers oꝛ lerners of  
 the same / neyther to acquisition of vertue noꝛ expulſion of vi-  
 ce. But I haue lerne & am taught in other thyngs moch bet-  
 ter / & moꝛe profitable to the cōmen wele: as to assaile & stryke  
 myne ennemys: to dispoyle theiꝝ oꝛdynaꝛce & vitayls: to chase  
 theiꝝ garnyson. Nothynge to drede noꝝ feare / saue an yll name:  
 to endure & take in good woꝛth the pleasure of the comer & the  
 hardenes of the wynter both in lyke: to lye vpon the grounde:  
 to endure hunger & labour bothe togyder. Therfoꝛe I shall  
 exhoꝛt & informe my souldyours with these pꝛeceptes: whiche  
 I my selfe haue lerne / vsed & assayed. Noꝝ I shall nat han-  
 dell oꝛ treat them by craft to thintent that they may auance  
 me with riches: noꝝ vse them sharply and my selfe pleasurly:  
 but i every difficultie I shalbe theiꝝ example of labour: noꝝ I

ra necesse est pꝛædicent  
 falsa vita moꝛesqꝛ mei su-  
 perant. Sed quoniam vo-  
 stra consilia accusantur:  
 qui mihi sūmum honorē  
 et maximum negotiū im-  
 posuistis: etiam atqꝛ etiā  
 animis reputate: num eo-  
 rum poenitēdum sit. Nō  
 possum fidei causa ima-  
 gines: neque triumphos  
 aut consulatus maiorum  
 meorum ostendere. At si  
 res postulet: hastas / vexila  
 lum: phaleras: alia mi-  
 litaria dona: pꝛæterea ci-  
 catrices in aduerso cor-  
 pore.

Hæ sunt meæ imagines:  
 hæc nobilitas non here-  
 ditate relicta: vt illa illis:  
 sed quæ meis laboribus  
 et periculis quæsiui. Nō  
 sunt composita mea ver-  
 ba: parum id facio: ipsa  
 se virtus satis ostendit.

Illis artificio opus est: vt  
 turpia facta oratione te-  
 gant. Neqꝛ grãças litte-  
 ras didici: parum place-  
 bat eas discere: qꝛpꝛ quæ  
 ad virtutem doctõibus  
 nihil pꝛofuerant.

At illa multo optima rei  
 pu. doctus sum: hostes fes-  
 riri: pꝛæsidia agitare: ni-  
 hil metuere: nisi turpem  
 famam: hyemē et astatem  
 iuxta parihumi requies-  
 cere: eodem tēpore inopi-  
 am et laborem tolerare.  
 Ergo his ego pꝛeceptis  
 milites hortabor: neque  
 arde colā silos: vt me os-  
 pulent: neqꝛ gloriā meā  
 laborem illorum faciam.



## The batayle

Hoc est vtile hoc ciuile is-  
perium. Nam cum tute  
per molliciem agas: sup-  
plicio cogere: id est dñm  
non imperatorem esse.

Hec atq; alia talia no-  
stri maiores faciendo se-  
que rempu. celebraue-  
re: quis nobilitas frera/  
ipsa dissimilis moribus;  
nos illorum emulos con-  
tētet ois honores non  
ex merito sed quasi debi-  
tos a vobis repetit. Cete-  
rum hoies supbissimi: pro-  
cul errant. Maiores corū  
oia quæ licebat illis reli-  
quere: diuicias: imagines:  
memoriam sui præclaram.  
virtutem non reliquere:  
neq; poterant: ea sola neq;  
datur dono/ neq; accipit.

Sordidum me et incultis  
moribus aiunt q; parum  
scite conuiuium exorno:  
neque histrionem vllum  
neq; pluris coquum q̄ vil-  
licū habeo: quæ mihi nō  
libet confiteri. quiritēs:  
nam ex parente meo et a  
lijs sanctis viris ita acce-  
pi: mūdicias mulieribus:  
viris laborem conuenire:  
omnibus bonis oportere:  
plus gloriæ q̄ diuitiarū:  
arma non supellectilem  
decori esse.

Quin ergo quod iuuat:  
quodq; carum æstimant  
id semp faciant samēt: po-  
tent; ubi adulescētiā ha-  
buere: ubi senectutē agant:  
in conuiuijs: dediti vētri:  
et turpissima parti corpo-

I shall nat put the labour to them and take the worthyp to me.  
This order is profitable. Thus ought a captayne demean-  
hym among his souldpours and namely among worthp cite-  
zins. For whan a man lyueth delicately hymselfe/ and driueth  
his souldiours to the peryl of batayle by punishment or other  
rpgour: he is nat to be called a captayne or ruler of an army:  
but rather a proude lord or tyrannous oppreser of citezins.  
Our elders worthely behauynge themselves after this maner  
haue made noble & excellēt and enriched this comen welc: and  
themselves also. But these estates which now we lyueth trustyng  
to be honoured by the worthynesse of their pgenitours/ they  
thēselfe vnlke of cōditions despise vs & haue vs in disdainne  
whiche folowe the maners of their pgenito's. And euery hye  
office and all honours they chalange & demaunde of you nat  
by their merites: but as it were of duettie and heritage. But  
sothely the ouer proude men erre moche from the truth. For  
though their pgenito's & auncetp haue left vnto them euery  
thyng which to them was possible to leaue: as riches/ patry-  
mony/ & their pimages: for remembraunce and example of them  
& of their worthp dedes. Neuerthelless their vertue haue they  
nat left vnto them: nor they coude nat kepe it: for that onely  
can nether be gyuen vnto them in rewarde nor receyued of  
any man. These gentylmen say that I am a man without ma-  
ners & vnclenly of behauour. And why? Forsooth bycause that  
I prepare & dresse nat curpously many delicyous bankettes  
so supfluous & depntuous as they do: and bycause I haue no  
iougler nor dysar w me to moue sportes & dissolut laughing:  
nor no more curpouse coke than one of the byllage longyng to  
rural people/ which thyngs to haue as these gentylmen haue:  
it pleaseth me nat to knowledg. For I neuer had pleasure in  
such thynges. For I haue herde of my father and of other in-  
corrupt and well disposed men: that suche delicyousnesse and  
curpousite belongeth vnto women. And that labour and besy-  
nesse belongeth vnto men. Euery good man: thynketh it mo-  
re cōuenient to haue plentie of worthp than of riches. And  
more honoure it is to a good man to haue the walles of his  
hous garnysshed & ouercowred with armour/ wherewith he  
may defend his cōtreyp/ his frendes and hymselfe than with  
riche or namētes of curpous warke of no profet saue onely the  
spght & bayne regarde therof. But syth these gentylmen thus  
objecte suche matters to me: let them cōtinue alway in such bi-  
ces which lyketh thē/ and that they haue euer reputed so dere.  
Let them incline to voluptuosite: as daunsyng/ syngyng/ ban-  
ketyng/ playng/ to lechery/ to glotony/ & drunkenes. For in  
suche bices haue they spende their youth: in the same let them  
passoith

pas forth thes age : vtterly subdued to the bely / to slepe / to ydelnes / and subiect to the lustes of the vylest part of the body. Let them leaue the swete of syghting / the peryll of deeth / the blyndyng of dust in batayle: and otherlyke payrls vnto vs / to whome these be moze acceptable / than their feeles and voluptuous bankettes or other vyle pleasures. But they do nat so / they be nat so contented. For after that such vngoodly and vyle men haue dishonested themselfe / by thes foule dedes: than be they redy to take away the rewardes of good men vnto themselfe. Thus (agaynst all right) lechery and slouth moost cursed vyces dothe no hurt to such as occuppeth them: but they be vtter destruction to the comen wayle / and comens which be innocent and vnculpable.

¶ But syth I haue made answere to thes dysordred gentylmen: and that moderatly after my custome and condicion and nat so largely as thes cursednesse & vices ar worthy. I shall speke nowe a fewe thynges touchyng the comen wele. And first of al haue ye good trust & esperance touchyng the besynnes of Numidy. For ye haue nowe moued & auoyded euery thyng wherby Jugurth was defended from begynnyng of the warre vnto this tyme: that is to say the couetysle of Calphurnius / & of Albinus: the vncraftynes and folp of Julus: and the pryde of Metellus. By thes founde Jugurth socour hitherto: but all these be auoyded nowe. Howeouer ye haue there an army which knoweth the contrey / but verily it is more noble & manly than fortunate or happy. For a great part therof is wasted & spent (and that wors is) infected and corrupted: what by the auarice and by the vnboldnesse & cowardysle of thes captayns. Wherfore ye which be of lusty age and mete to endure the hardnesse of warre & batayle: nowe labour ye with me / and take ye in hande the defence of the comen wayle. For let none of you be afrayed nor abashed for misfortune of the other loudyours which haue foughten there befoze this tyme nor of the pryde of thes captayns. For I myselfe as counsellour of your besynesse & felowe of your peryls shall be present with you in euery besynesse bothe in your tournays & in your batayls also. So that I shall gouerne you & my selfe without difference / and vnder one forme in euery popnt. And verily by helpe of the goddes we shall within short season obtayne all auantages & comodities which any man may wynn in batayle / as prayes / victoys / with immortall laude & worship. And certaynly if thes pleasures & auantages were in dout or harde to obtayne (as they be nat): neuerthelesse it were couenient to euery good man (as ye be) to socour & defende the comen wayle of thes countrey fro destruction & dishonour. For Jugurth.

M. i.

ris: sudorem: puluerē: et alia talia nobis reliquāt: quibus illa epulis iucundiora sunt.

Verum non ita est. Nam vbi se flagitijs dedecoraue re turpissimi viri: bonorum præmia ereptum cunt: ita iniustissime luxuria et ignauia pessime artes: illis qui coluere eas: nihil officium reip. innoxia eladi sunt. Nunc quoniā illis quantū mei mores: non quantū illorū flagicia poscebāt: respon di: pauca de rep. loquar.

Primum oim de Numidi a bonum animum habetote Quirites. Nam quæ vsq; ad hoc tempus Jugurthā tutata sunt: oia remouistis: auaritiā / im peritiā / atq; supbiā. Deinde exercitus ibi est: locus: sciens: sed me hercle magis strēnuus: q̄ felix. Nā magna pars eius auaritia aut temeritate ducum attrita est. Quā obrē vos: quibus inest militaris ætas: adnitimini mecū: et capeſſite rēpu. Neq; quemq; ex calamitate aliorum aut imperatorum supbiā metus cœpit. Egomet i agmine atq; in prælio consultor idem et socius piculi vobiscū ad ero: me vosq; omnibus in rebus iuxta gerā. Et profecto dijs iuuātibus: omnia matura sunt: victoria: præda: laus. Quæ si dubia: aut procul essent: ramen omnes bonos reip. subuenire deceret.

Etenim ignauia nemo i




## The batayle

mortalis factus est: neque  
quisque parens liberis uti  
aeterni foret optauit: ma-  
gisque ut boni honestique  
vitam exigerent.

Plura dicerem Quirites:  
si timidis virtutem ver-  
ba adderet. Nam strenu-  
us abunde dictum puto.

certaynlye there was neuer man whiche obtayned immortal  
laude nor cuerlastyng name by cowardise or flouth. Nor  
there was neuer wyse father which wold wyshe his chyldren  
or sonnes to lyue euer: but onely that they myght lyue so long  
as they behaued themselves worthely in goodnesse & honesty:  
and so to passe forth their lyfe as natural course requirerh.

**W**orthy romayns: I wolde speke moze vnto you if I vn-  
derstode that strength coude be encreased to feble or fearfull  
men: by wordes: but it is nat so. Wherefore me semeth that I  
haue sayed ynough and abundantly to noble and bolde har-  
ted men: as my trust is to proue you. 

**H**owe Marius after his exhortacion endyd:  
anone laded shyppes with ordynance of warre  
and sende forwarde with the same one Malyus  
his inbassadour: and howe he himselfe anone af-  
ter folowed withal his company. And howe he  
behaued hymselfe in Numidy at fyrste begyn-  
nyng.

The. li. Chaptyer.

**H**uiusmodi oratio-  
ne habita Marius  
postquam plebis animos e-  
rectos videt, propere com-  
mearum stipendio / armis /  
atque alijs vtilibus naues  
onerat.  
Cum his Aulum Manlium  
legatum proficisci iubet.  
ipse interea milites scri-  
bere non more maiorum  
neque ex clauibus: sed vri-  
cuiusque libido erat: cas-  
pitate censos plerosque.



**W**han Marius had vttered and en-  
ded his word: vnder this forme: and whan  
he sawe al the myndes of the comens enclis-  
ned to the war in trust of victorie & prayes.  
Then anone without moze delay he caused  
shyppes to be charged w bityles & treasure  
for the soudyours wages with armour & we-  
ppyn and all other thynges necessary to war. And comaunded  
one named Aulus Manlius / which was assigned embassa-  
dours to hym: to departe forwarde with the same shyppes  
so charged. In the meane season Marius hymself remay-  
ned at Rome a lytel tyme: and chose forth soudpours suche as  
hym thought most expedient: and nat after the custome of the  
olde romayns his predecessours nor after institution of the  
aunciet captayns / which had ordred cartayne maner of peple  
of whome soudpours shuld be chosen for warfare in tyme co-  
uenient. But contrary wyse Marius admytted euery man in-  
differently which was any thyng lykely and had pleasure to  
go with hym. And many suche he admytted also whiche were  
pooze and nat suffred to go warfare befoze: lest their pouertie  
myght haue constrained them rather to fal to robbery than to  
dedes of chivalry. Howbeit it was enacted of the olde ro-  
mayns that suche excused of warre for cause aboue sayd:

shulde pay a certayne somme of money pretared towarde the  
 wages of such as lawfully were admytted to warre. Marius  
 suffred none of these to pay any thyng at al: but elect many  
 of them for his souldyours. Many of the romayns surmised  
 that Marius elected vnto warre these abiect patrons: for  
 want of other good souldyours. Some other demed that he  
 so dyd for fauoure / ambition / and parcialite: by cause this  
 sort of people assisted and honoured hym by auancement at  
 begynnynge of his promotion. And also men consydered that  
 vnto a man despyous of dignitie and power: the moost neddy  
 men be moost mete and behouable. For suche neddy merches  
 be moost auenturous: for they haue nought to lose and alway  
 trust in auancement by auenturyng themselves. And ther-  
 fore they iudge euery thyng which they do: good / honest and  
 laudable: if any auantage be therto appendant. Thus dout  
 they no payll so that they may coine thereby to promotion.  
 At last Marius departed from Rome with somewhat greater  
 nombre than was graunted and decreed to hym of the sena-  
 tours. Within fewe dayes after that: he toke shyppe and  
 arriued in the prouince next vnto Affrike vnder the romayns  
 at a towne named Utica. The army whiche was there with  
 Metellus / was deliuered to hym by one Publius Rutilius /  
 which was embassadour with the sayd Metellus. For Me-  
 tellus hymselfe fled the sight of Marius by cause he wolde  
 nat se that with his eyen / which he coude nat endure to here.  
 But whan Marius had restored and fulfilled the legions of  
 his souldyours / and the cohorts for the subsidies and rescous.  
 Than went he into a plentyfull place of summyr which was  
 full of prayses. All that he toke there: he gaue frely inrewarde  
 to his souldyours. This done: he assailed suche castels and  
 townes which were but feebly defended with men and walles.  
 He had many batayls & lyght skirmishes: and many other  
 thynges he dyd in other places nat with moche difficultie.  
 In the meane tyme the newe souldyours were redy manly  
 fyghtyng without fere: and scyng that they which fled were  
 other taken or slayne: therfore they aduysed them wel that the  
 strongest and boldest was most sure of all. They consydered  
 wel that it stode them in hande to defende with wepyn and  
 armour their libertie / their countrey / their frendes / and all  
 other thynges longyng to their helth and honour. Thus la-  
 bourd they for glorie / laude / and riches whiche they optay-  
 ned: so that within short season the olde souldyours and the  
 newe encreased togyder cheryshyng and insecrumpng one  
 an other yf their vertue and boldnesse was lyke. But whan  
 the two kynges Jugurth and Bocchus vnderstode of the  
 Jugurth.

M.ii.

Id factum alij inopia bo-  
 norum: alij per ambitio-  
 nem consulis memorabant:  
 quod ab eo genere celebra-  
 tus adiutusque erat:  
 et homini potetiam que-  
 renti egentissimus quis-  
 que opportunissimus: cui  
 neque sua chara (quippe que  
 nulla sunt) et omnia cum pre-  
 cio honesta videntur.

Igitur marius cum ali-  
 quanto maiore numero  
 quam decretum erat in Aphri-  
 cam profectus: paucis die-  
 bus Uticam aduehit.  
 Exercitus ei traditur a  
 Publio Rutilio legatus:  
 nam Metellus prospectum  
 Marij fugerat: ne videret  
 ea quae audita animus  
 tolerare nequiverat.  
 Sed consul expletis legio-  
 nibus cohortibusque  
 auxiliarijs in agrum fer-  
 tilem et praeda onustum  
 proficiscitur: omnia ibi ca-  
 pra militibus donat.  
 Deinde castella et oppi-  
 da parum munita natura  
 et viris aggreditur: prae-  
 lia multa ceterum alia  
 leuia locis facere. Inter  
 rim noui milites sine me-  
 tu pugnae adesse: videre  
 fugientes capi aut occi-  
 di: fortissimum quemque tu-  
 tissimum: armis libertatem  
 patriamque pariterque et ad  
 haec omnia regi: gloriam atque  
 diuitias queri. Sic breui  
 spacio: noui veteresque  
 coaluere: et virtus oim  
 aequalis facta. At reges



vbi de aduentu Marij cognouere: diuersi in locos difficiles abeunt.

Ita Iugurthæ placuerat sperant: mox eisufos hostis inuadi posse: romanos sicuti plerosq; remotome tu laxius licentiusque futuros.

commynge of Marius: they deuoyded their hostes and went in sonder into dyuers places where no man coude attayne to them for difficultie of the places. This was done by counsell of Iugurth. For it pleased hym so to be trustyng that with in short space the romayns wolde be spred abroad in spoylinge and than thought he to assaile them in euery place whan they were moost without fere at libertie / at large / and vnprouyded: as men at wont to be specially whan their enemies behaue them as if they were assayed. Than often be the victour improuident and lesse circumspect.

Howe Metellus the olde consull retourned to Rome: and of the worthy and valyant behauour of Marius agaynst Iugurthe and of his great actes at his begynnyng. The .lii. Chaptyer.

**M**etellus interea Roma profectus: contra suam suam letis finis: ais excipitur: plebi pibusq; postq; inuidia decesserat: iuxta charus.

Sed Marius impigre prouidenterque suorum et hostium res pariter attēdes: recognoscere / quid vtriusque boni / aut contra esset. explorare itinera regum / consilia et insidias antevenire. Nihil apud se remissum / neque apud illos tutum pati.

Itaque et getulos et Iugurthā prādas agētes / ex locis hīs / saepe aggressi / itinere fuderat: ipsūq; regē haud procul ab oppido Cirrha armis exherat. Quæ postq; gloriosa modo facta sunt: neq; bellicopiam patrādī cognouit: statuit vrbes / quæ vris aut loco pro hostibus / et aduersum se oportunitissime erāt singulas cir-

**I**n the meane tyme Metellus returned to Rome: which contrary to his opinton was receyued with glad myndes of the romayns & after that the enuy which Marius had moued agaynst hym was all waged and ouerpasse: he was lyke dere and beloued both to the comens and senatours.

But Marius on his part applyed and toke hede to his owne besynesse and his enemies also: without sleuth but with great wysdome. He perceyued wel & knewe what was good and vll for auantage on both sydes. He caused the wayes and iournayes of the two kynges to be dayly serched & espied. He preuented and interrupted their counsels / prouisions / and gyles. He suffered nothyng to be vnprouided and vnrady in his syde: but of the other syde and party of his enemies: he suffered nothyng to be sure or prouided: for alway he preuented their prouisions and pursued them. Often whyle Iugurth and the Getulians spoyled the Numidyens whiche had persecuted the romayns Marius was redy in their way & valiantly assailed them: and ouerthrew many of them / whyle they were disperced abroad and fleyng away for feare. And also nat ferre from the towne of Cirrha / he made Iugurth hymselfe so trust in his flyght that for hast to ren away: he left his armour behynde hym. But whan Marius conspyed that his actes were onely glorious and excellent without any auantage: and that he myght nat execute batayle with Iugurth for his vntedfastnes and mouyng from place to place:

he consydred in mynde and ordayned hym redy to besyge the cities of the countrey one after another. And namely suche as outhur of men or of place were necessary and behouable to his ennemies/and contrary or hurtfull to hym. This dpyd he thynkynge: that if Jugurth without dystourbanche suffred hym so to do he shuld other be spoyled and bereft of his cities/ordynance/locours/ & refuge: or els he must abyde the fortune of batayle & stryue for the maistry in playne feld. Bocchus the kynge of the mauriens had often sende messangers befoze vnto Marius: sayeng that he wolde gladly come into fauour/ ampte/ & frendshipp of the romayns: and byddyng Marius nat to dout hym as an ennemy nor to fear any thyng longyng to an ennemy to be commytted of hym agaynst the romayns. It is but lytel known for trueth whether Bocchus sayned this thing to the intent that his comyng to batayle vnknewen, & vnproued myght be to Marius moze greuous: or els wherther he was wont by vnstablesnes of mynde to change peace somtyme for warre: & somtyme war for peace. But Marius the consul (as he had purposed befoze) dyue hym vnto the castels and towne whiche were walled & defended: and fierly assailed them. In none he tournd many of them from his ennemies to hym. Some by strength & violence/some by feare: and other some by promysyng & gyueng of rewardes & prouision of their captayns. But at first begynnynge he medled but with meane castels & towne thynkyng that Jugurth shulde come to defende and locour his people & towne: and so come into danger of the romayns. But whan Marius herde that Jugurth was say then and occupped in other besynes: than thought he nat to lose his tyme: but to aucture on gretter thyng: wherin was moze harde besynesse and gretter labour & honour. Wherfoze he entended to besiege the cite of Capsa/ whiche was a great cite/stronge/and riche.

How Marius wanne the great and rych cytie named Capsa: and how he vtterly dystroyed the same and gaue all the rychesse therof to haucke among his soudyours. The. lxxx. chapyter.



Amonge the most wydest and thickest wyldernes of Numidy was this great and rych cite named Capsa: whiche (as men say) was first bylded by that Hercules whiche was bozne in the lande of Libya: and nat by Hercules the sonne of Iuppter and Alcmena. Thynhabitours of Jugurth.

M. iii.

cumuenire: ita ratus/aut Jugurtham praesidijs nundatum/si ea pateret/aut praelio cerraturum.

f. cc

Nam Bocchus nuncios ad eum saepe miserat/vel le populū. ro. amicitiam. ne quid a se hostile times ret.

Id simulauerit ne quo in prouisus grauior accederet: an mobilitate ingenij/pacem atque/bellum mutare solitus/parū exploratum est. Sed consul vt constituerat oppida castellaq; munita adire/partim vi: alia metu/aut praemia ostentando auertere ab hostibus.

Ac primo medioctia gerebat: existimans Jugurtham ob suos tutādes in manus venturum/sed ubi illum procul abesset alij negotijs intetum accepit: maior aet magis aspera aggredi tempus visum est.

Erat inter ingētes solitudines oppidū magnū atq; valens/noie Capsa/cuius cōditor Hercules libys memorabat. Eius ciues apud Jugurtham immunes leni imperio: et ob ea fidelissimi



## The batayle

habebantur: muniti aduersum hostes non mœnibus modo et armis atque viris: verum etiam multo magis asperitate locoꝝ.

Nam præter oppido loca propinqua: alia omnia vastata: inculta: egentia aqua: infesta a serpētibꝫ: quorum vis (sicuti omnium ferarum) inopia cibi acrisior. Ad hoc natura serpētum pernicioſa: siti magis quam alia re accenditur.

Eius potiundi Marium maxima cupido inuaserat: tum propter usum bellicum quia res aspera videbatur. et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat: haud dissimiliter situm munitum: quem nisi quod apud Thalam non longe a mœnibus assiquot fontes erant. Caspientes vna modo atque ea intra oppidum iugtasque: ceteri pluuiæ vtebantur. Id ibique et in Aphrica quæ procul a mari incultius agebat eo facilius tolerabatur: quia nunc inde plerumque lacte et ferina carne vescebantur: et neque salem neque alia irritamenta gule quærebant: cibus potusque illis aduersus famem atque sitim non libidini neque luxurie erat.

Igitur cōsul omnibus exploratis credo dijs fretus.

this cite were ruled by Jugurth peasably & easely put to no charges nor besynesse/and therfore were they moost true and faythful to hym. They were defended agaynst al enemies: nat onely with walles/armour/and men: but also with moche stronger defence of the difficultie & hardnesse of the place and contrey nere about them. So that it was in maner impossible that any army coude cōe nere them for want of water and scarcite of vitels. For except the felde & places nere to the cite all the other be boyde & wast grounde & desart without habitation/bneared/barayne/and drye without water. All full of serpētes: which were somoch moze violent and fiers for lacke of meat and sustenance/as al other wyld beestes be wont to inrage for hunger. And mozeouer the myscheuous and perillous nature of serpentes is moze kyndled to ragyng and bereared with thyrst/ than with any other thyng: which thyrst they coude nat quench there for want of water. Wherefore neyther man nor beest myght surely passe by them. Whā Marius cast al these difficulties in his mynde: his hert was peried with a merueylous desyre to wyth this cite/both for that it was moche hurtfull to hym: and profitable to Jugurth/ and also because it was harde to do and moche honour myght be gotten in wyntinge therof. And mozeouer because Metellus the other consull befoze hym had won the cite of Thala/with great honour and gloꝝy: whiche of sytuacion was nat vnlyke to this cyte: nouthen vnlyke in defence. Saue that nat far from the walles of Thala were a fewe fontayns: but about this cite of Capsa was no water/wel/ nor fontayne: saue one and that was within the walles of the cite alway full of water. All other whiche dwelled without the walles/as in the suburbs: occupied but rayne water. The inhabitantes of that contrey and of all the remenant of Affrike/which were far from the see and rude people coude moche the better endure this scarcite of water and thyrst: for this cause. For the moost part of them were fed with mylke and beyson nat lokyng after salt/sauces/nor other suche thynges as be nor suche thynges or prouocatiues to glotony. They toke meate and drynke onely to slake their hunger/and to quenche their thyrst: and nat without measure to prouoke themselves to pleasure of the fleshe/as many christenmen do nowe i our dayes: which make of theire hely their god. And eate nat to lyue: but they lyue to eate contrary to mānes lyfe/and betterly enclined to bestialite. And cursed glotony let vs christenmen lerne her of panyms to eschewe the: whiche wasted the body and goodes: damnest the soules: and art mother and noyice of al vices. But to retourne to my purpose: this Marius after that he had serched euery thyng

by his elpyes / he proceded in his interprise and purpose (as men thought) holpen of the goddes. For agaynst so many & harde difficulties he coude nat haue made sure prouision by counsell of man no: by his owne priuate wpt: as he whiche had impediment and was letted nat onely by sharpness of the contrey: but also by lacke & scarcite of wheat and of all other cozne. For the numidiens intedeth moze / to no: if the pasture for beastes than to labour o: ere the groude for cozne. And also they had bzought togyder all the seed and cozne of the pere befor into strong holdes as their kyng Jugurth had comaunded them and mozeouer at that season the feldes on euery syde were dry and bare without cozne: and no maruale. For it was about the extremitie o: later ende of somer. Nat withstanding all these difficulties and sharpnesses Marius made prouision ynough as the mater required. First he commytted all the beistes which he had taken in pray to fo:etyme vnto the hoxsemen / whiche of their owne wylfolowed hym to war: o: were sende to hym for helpe by frendes of thempire. Marius commaunded them to take charge to d:ue forth these beastes. Then sent he Julius Manlius embassadour of the hoost to a towne named Laris / and al the cohortes of his soudyours with hym which were fotemen and lyght barnysed for to kepe the treasour of the soudyours wages and bitapls: whiche he had left in the same towne. Marius kept his counsell of this interprise so secrete that none of all his company hve no: lowe knewe of his purpose no: whan he intended. But whan Manlius and his company shulde depart towarde Laris: Marius dissimuled with them sayeng that he wold stray abrode in Numidy in rounyng and afterwarde within fewe dapes: he and his company wolde come also to the same towne of Laris / laded with prayes of his ennemies. This done he depyed towarde a flob named Tana: no creature liuely knowyng of his purpose. And euery day he distributed in his iournayes amonge his hoost. xlii. heed of oxen for bitayle / whiche he comaunded to be deuided by euy prortion amonge them by hundreds and halfe hundreds togyder: deuidyng bitapls to euery company after their nombze. And in the meane season he charged bottels and bowges to be made of the hydes of the same beastes and of other ledder in great nombze. Mozeouer he cased their scarcyte of wheate and other cozne: by wysse prouision. And without knowledge of all his company he made good prouision of euery thing / which might be necessary vnto his army in tyme of nebe. At conchlussion the syxt day after whan they were come to the sayd flob of Tana: thyder was brought a myghty multitude of bottels and bowges made of ledder.

Nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis prouidere non poterat (quippe etiam frumenti inopia tētabatur / q Numa midæ pabulo pecoris magis q aruo student. Et quodcūq; semē natum fuerat / iussu regis in loca munita contulerant. Ager autē aridus / et frugum vacuus / ea tēpestare: nam astatis extremum erat). Tamē pro rei copia satis prouidenter exornat. Pecus omne / quod superioribus prædæ fuerat: equitibus auxiliariis agendum distribuit.

Aulum Manlium legatū cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Larium (vbi stipendium et cōmēatum locauerat) ire iussit: dicitq; se prædabundum post paucos dies eodem vēturum. Sic incens pro suo occultato / pergit ad flumen Tanam.

Cæterū in itinere quotidie quadraginta duū pecus exercitus per centurias / item p turmas æqualiter distribuerat: et ex corijs vtres vti fierent / curabat: simul et inopiam frumētī lenire: et ignaris omnibus parare: quæ mox vsui forent.

Deniq; sexto die cum ad flumen ventum esset / maxime vis vtriusq; effecta ē.



## The batayle

Ibi castris leui munimē-  
to positis milites cibum  
capere; atq; vti simul cum  
occafū solis egredierētur  
paratos esse iubet: omni  
b; abiectis sarcinis aqua  
modo seq; et iumēta one-  
rare.

Deinde postq̃ visū est tem-  
pus castris egreditur: no-  
ctemq; totam itinere fa-  
cto; confedit. Idem proxi-  
ma facit. Deinde tertia  
multo ante lucis aduen-  
tum peruenit in locū tu-  
mulosum/longe a Capfa  
non amplius duum milis-  
um intervallo: ibique q̃  
occultissime potest/cum  
omnibus copijs diem op-  
peritur. Sed vbi dies cō-  
pit/et Numidā nihil hos-  
tile metuentes/multi op-  
pido egressi: repente om-  
nem equitatum: et cū his  
velocissimos pedites curs-  
su tendere ad Capfam: et  
portas obsidere iubet.  
Deinde ipse intenu; pro-  
pere sequi neq; milites p̃-  
dari sinere. Quæ postq̃  
oppidani cognouere: res  
trepidæ/metus ingēs: ma-  
lum improuisum.  
Ad hoc pars ciuū extra  
mœnia in hostium pote-  
state deprehensa/cogere:  
vbi deditionem facerent.  
Cæterum oppidum incē-  
sum. Numide puberes in-  
terfecti: alij omnes venū  
dati præda militibus di-  
uisa. Id facinus contra  
ius belli nō auaritia/ne-  
q; scelere consulit/est ad-  
mīssū: sed quia locus lu-  
gurthæ opportunus: no-  
bis aditu difficilis: gen-  
tium hominum mobile/infidū  
ante: neq; beneficio; neq;  
metu coercitum.

There pyched they their tentes with easie labour and small  
defence. Than restellhed they themselſe with meate and drin-  
ke: and caled themselſe a certayne space. This done: Marius  
commaunded them that euery man shulde be redy to procede  
forwarde euen with the sonne goyng downe and that euery  
man shulde onely lade hymselfe and his beastes with water  
in the sayd bowges and bottels leaupnge al other cartage/  
burthens/and baggage: there behynde them in their tentes/  
bnder the custodpy of other souldyours therto assigned. After  
this whan he sawe his tyme: he departed forth from his ten-  
tes with his company: and lauboured al the nyght longe in  
his iournay. The day after folowynge he rested in a secreete &  
couert place. In the same wyse behaued he hymselfe the nyght  
next ensuyng: and in the thyrde nyght moche befoze the day  
lyght/ he entred into a fayze and large felde ful of smal hylls  
and downes/ no moze but two myle space from Capfa. And  
there he tarped withal his hoost in the moost priueest maner  
abidyng the day lyght. But allone as the day began to ap-  
pere: many numidyens pssued forth of the towne: some to  
dysporte themselſe: and some about their besynes/ nought  
fearynge nor suspectynge of their ennemies. Whan Marius  
sawe that: anone withal haste he sent all his horsemen to the  
towne/ and with them as many fotemen in lyght harnesse as  
were moost swyft and speddy. Whome he commaunded to ren-  
withal hast and boldely and baliantly to assaile the towne:  
and to besyge the gates. Than after he hymselfe folowed  
spedely: but with good hede and aduise ment: nat sufferynge  
his souldyours in the assaut nor in the way thyrderwarde to  
fal to robbynge nor prayes by spoyling of their ennemies.  
Whan thynhabitantes of the towne knewe herof: their case  
was vnſure/ their feare great and horrible: for the sodayne  
chaunce of them was nothyng suspected befoze/ nor prouy-  
ded. Many of the cetezins whiche were without the towne  
and were taken and in power & captiuite of the romains their  
ennemies sent vnto them within the towne despying them for  
saue garde of their lyues to yelde themselſe and the cite to  
Marius. So was it done at cōclusion. Howbest this nat w-  
standynge Marius byent the cite. All the numidyens inhaby-  
tantes therof which were of ful age & able to bere wepen were  
slayne: and the remanent as women/chyliden/ and aged men  
were taken prisioners and solde for their raunsome. The pray  
and richesſe was deuyled among the souldyours. This dede  
agaynst the lawe of armes was nat thus done by Marius:  
by couetyse nor any outhet crueltie of hym: but bycause the  
towne & place was pfitable/ and necessarye to Jugurth & to the

romayns harde to come to. And the maner of the people pro-  
ued mouable and vniuersall euer of nature befoze: and neyther  
restrained from their yll appetite by benefite of good dede: no:  
yet with awe or feare of punishment.

Howe Marius by fortune more than by stren-  
gth wanne the strongest castell of all Numidy/  
wherin were the tresours of Iugurth.

The. lxxi. chapyter.

**A**fter that Marius had brought to  
ende so great and harde an interprise with-  
out any losse or damage to hym or any of  
his peple. Though he were reputed noble/  
great and excellent befoze: than began he to  
be counted more famous & excellent. Euery  
noble dede: was reputed to be done by

strength & wysdome of Marius: and ascribed to his strength  
and polycie. And that suche thynges as were done by good  
counsell and prouision / and also suche as hapened by fortune  
or chance: and by neglygence of their ennemies. The sou-  
dours were so manerly treated without crueltie or fierse-  
nesse of their captayne / and also made riche and abundant in treas-  
our and iewels: that they exalted and praysed his name to  
the heuen. And loued hym as themselves. But in contrary wyle  
the numidyens feared hym more than any man lpyunge.

Shortly to speke: both the frendes of thempite and ennemies  
also thought verily that outhet Marius had a godly mynde  
and was a god hymselfe: or els that he was priue with the  
goddess: and dyd all his dedes and besynesse by their aduise/  
counsell / and prouision: which shewed hym befoze what shuld  
fortune after. But whan this chaunce had fortunied so well at  
Capfa: anone Marius drue hym to other townes / and toke  
as many as he besyged. In some townes the numidyens re-  
systed hym to their power: but it coude nat awayle. In many  
other townes the dwellers gaue them ouer and left them boy-  
de and ran away feryng so to be treated & delt withall as they  
of Capfa were: bycause their townes were lyke behouable to  
Iugurth and hurtfull to Marius. Whan Marius came to  
any such towne: destitute and voyde of dwellers he let fyre in  
them & brent them grounde smothe. The aged men / women &  
chyliden: toke them to wodes and caues to hyde themselves.

The yong men & lusty which were taken were slayne downe  
right. Thus was euery place fylled with wepyng & wayling /

**P**ostquam tantam rem per-  
egit Marius / sine villo  
suorum incommodis  
magnus et clarus antea  
maior clariorque haberi ce-  
pit. Cui non bene consul-  
ta modo / verum etiam ca-  
su data in virtutem tra-  
hebantur.

Milites modesto imperio  
habiti: simul et locuples  
tes ad cœlum ferre Mariū.

Numidæ magis quam vllum  
mortalem timere postres  
mo omnes focij: atque hos-  
tibus credere / illi aut men-  
tem diuinam esse / aut des-  
uper nutu cuncta portendi.

Sed consul: ubi ea res be-  
ne euenit: ad alia oppida  
pergit: pauca / repugnanti-  
bus Numidis / capit:

plura propter capsensis  
miserias igni corrumpit.

luctu atque cæde omnia  
complentur.



## The batayle

Denique multis locis potitus ac plerisque exercitu incruento: aliam rem aggrederetur non eadem asperitate qua capiens. *Inter* rerum haud secus difficilem. Namq; haud longe a flumine Mulucha (quod Jugurtha Bocchique regnum disiungebat) erat inter ceteram planiciem mōs saxeus mediocri castello: satis patens in immensum editus: vno per angusto aditu relicto. Nam per omnia naturae velut opere atque consilio princeps erat: quem locum Marius quod ibi regis thesauri erant summa vi capere intēdit: sed ea res forte quod consilio melius gesta erat.

Nam in castello virorum atque armorū satis magna vis: et frumenti: et fons aque: aggeribus / turribusque alijs machinationibus locus impotunus.

Iter castellanorum angustum admodum. vtrinque precise vinca cū ingenti piculo frustra agebatur.

Nam cum hae paululum precesserant: igni aut lapidibus corrumpebatur.

Milites neque proope consistere propter iniquitatem loci: neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare: optimus quisque cadere aut lauciari: ceteris metus augeri.

brengnyng and slaughter: one mingled with other. Finally after Marius had won into his handes / many townes & castels: and some without resystence of blode shednyng of his men / he went in hande with an other mastery and difficultie nat so sharpe nor harde to come to as was Capsa / but to be won or besyged it was nat les harde nor of les difficultie.

That satte from the fiod of Mulucha (which water deuyeth the kyngdome of Jugurth: from the kyngdome of Bocchus) was a great rocke or mountayne of stone in myddes of a playne: open ynough to be sene hauyng therbyon bylded a meane castel of quantite: but of a meruaylous altitude & onely one strayet passage and narowe / left to cōc thereto. But on euey other syde the rocke of naturall grownyng was downe right lyke a wall: as if it had ben made for & nones with mannes hādes. Marius purposed with all his might to take this castel: and namely bycause the tresours of Jugurth were w<sup>as</sup> in the same. But this his purpose at last came to effect / rather by chaunce of fortune / than by prouision or counsell. For this castel was garnished & plentiously storozed with men / weapons / bytels / and with all ozerher ordynance requisite & necessary to defence of such a forteres. Moreover in the same was a fountayne pleūful of clere water. And be syde this the situation therof was such that without maruelous difficultie & an mesurable labour none ennemies myght attayne or approche nere thereto their ingynes of batayle to frusthe the walles or any other part therof. Besyde al these defences the double walles of this castel were garnished w<sup>as</sup> towres / bulwarkes / & all other defences & ingynes which coude be ymagined by mannes mynde: and that rownde about in compasse as well within / as without. The way thereto: by which the inhabitantes & garnison bled to go and come / was very strayet and narowe. In somoch that the romayns entryng by the same way with their ingynes of batayle were cōstraned to cut their pauases on both sydes and to make them moze narowe for straytnesse of the passage. And in suche maner they proceeded forwarde vnder the same in great payll and with moch difficultie: and at conclusion all in bayne. For whan they were come nere to the walles and wolde haue set bp and adioyned the same pauases to the walles to haue vndermined vnder them: all their labour was frastate. For what with stones and what with fyre the defenders of the castel brake and brent them agayne downe to the grounde. Thus coude nat the soudyos whiche vndermined the walles contynue togydet at their worke and besynesse: for straytnesse and difficultie of the place and importune violence of them within the castel. Nor other

loudpours coude nat serue them whiche made and repared  
the pauases without great payll & daunger. For continually  
as fast as they rayled the pauases to couer and defende them  
selfe: they were broken and bzent bytwene their handes. In  
the meane tyme no loudpour was so good/strong/noz bolde:  
but that he was outhet wounded or beaten done to deeth.  
Then was feare encreased to other that were feble and saynt  
herted. **B**ut after that many dayes & great labours  
in this maner were ouerpasse and spent in bayne. Marius  
was soze angred & bered in his hert reuoluyng many thyngs  
in mynde: but specially whyther he myght geue ouer his pur-  
pose (seyng his labour frustate) or els abyde the chaunce of  
fortune which at many tymes befoze he had founde fauorable  
and frendly to hym. Whyle Marius chased & bzennying in de-  
spyre reuolued suche thynges in his mynde both day & nyght:  
it hapened by chaunce of fortune that a certayne lumbarde a  
symple loudpour / one of the company whiche was last sente  
from Rome to Numidy to supply the army strayed abrode  
from his copany a lytel way whiche lumbarde as he wandred  
founde among the stones many smal snayles crepyng on the  
grounde: nat far from that syde of the castel whiche was ouer  
agaynst the syde which the romagns besyged and assayled.  
Bycause this lumbarde in his countrey was accustomed lyke  
other of his countrey men to cate such snayles prepared after  
their maner: therfoze he gathered first one and than an other/  
and after that many: ascendyng by by lytel and lytel: somtyme  
crepyng somtyme clymmyng / for no other intent or pur-  
pose saue togather such snayles: and so far he pceded by lytel  
and lytel tyll at last he came almost to the top of the mountay-  
ne. But whan he sawe all that syde of the castel desolate and  
no person steryng: anone he begafie to haue a pleasure & de-  
spyre in his mynde for to worke some maistry/as the proprietie  
and codicion is of euery man couetyng to wyne a name/laude  
and riches: and to be spoken of. By chance of fortune in the sa-  
me place where the lumbarde stode in this aduise ment / among  
the stones greue a great and olde oke tre hauyng the myddes  
a lytel bowyng downe towarde the grounde: and the remanent  
crokyng bywarde agayne with myghty armes and branches  
ascendyng to the hrest of the wallis with the top erect & lyfted  
by as euery herbe & tre of nature is wont to growe bywarde  
at the top. This lumbarde well aduised the same & aduentured  
to clyme bywarde takyng his holde somtyme by the branches  
and bowes of this oke: and somtyme takyng holde & leanyng  
by the stones which appered forth in the wal/ tyll at the last he  
attayned vnto the very top of the wall. And whan he sawe no

At Marius multis diebus  
& laboribus consumtis  
anxius trahere cum ani-  
mo suo: ommitteret ne inces-  
ptum: qm frustra erat: an  
fortunam expiraretur: qua  
sape prospera usus fue-  
rat.

Quæ quum multos dies  
noctesq; astuâs agitarer:  
forte quidam ligur ex co-  
hortibus auxiliarijs/mi-  
les gregarius aliquantulo  
egressus castris/haud  
procul a latere castelli/  
quod aduersum prælian-  
tibz erat: aduertit in-  
ter saxa repêtes cocleas/  
quarum cū vnâ atque  
alterâ: deinde plures pe-  
teret studio legeri pau-  
latim prope ad sūmū mō-  
tis egressus est.

Vbi postq̃ solitudinē in-  
tellexit: more ingenij hu-  
mani cupido difficilia fa-  
ciundi animum vertit.

Et forte in eo loco gran-  
dis ilex coaluerat/inter  
saxa paululū modo pro-  
na: deinde flexa atq; au-  
sta in altitudinē: quo cū  
agignētū natura fert.

Cuius ramis modo: mos  
do eminentibus saxis nis-  
sus Ligur/castelli planis  
semper scriptis: q̃ cuncti  
Numida in tenti prælian-  
tibus aderant.



## The batayle

Expioratis omnibꝫ que  
mox vsui fore ducebat:  
eodem regreditur non te-  
mere/vti ascenderat: sed  
tentans omnia et circum-  
spiciens.

Itaqꝫ propere adit Mari-  
um: acta edocet: hortatur  
ab ea parte/qua ipe descē-  
derat/ castellū tēret: pol-  
licetur se duceꝫ itineris:  
periculiꝫ nihil esse.  
Marius cum ligure pro-  
missa eius cognitū ex pre-  
sentibus misit: quorū/vti  
eiusqꝫ ingenium erat: is-  
ta rem difficilem aut fa-  
cilem nunciare.

Consulis tamen animus  
paululum arrectus est.  
Itaqꝫ ex copia tubicinum  
et cornicinum quinqꝫ nu-  
mero qꝫ velocissimos des-  
legit: et cum his/præsidio  
qui forent quatuor cen-  
turiones: omnesqꝫ liguri  
parere iubet: et ei nego-  
tio proximum diem con-  
stituit.

Sed vbi ex præcepto du-  
cis tempus visum est: or-  
ratis compositisqꝫ oibus  
ad locum pergit. Cæterū  
illi qui centurijs præerāt  
edocti: aduce/arma orna-  
tumqꝫ mutauerunt/capite  
atqꝫ pedibus nudis/vti  
prospectus nixusque per  
fata facilius foret.

man slyng on that part there stode he styl espyed of no man  
and noted & consydzed wel at his pleasure al the inwarde part  
of the castel and the playne within the walles about the towre.  
This lumbard had somoche the moze leasour to take so long  
aduiseꝫment bñespyed for al the numidyngs defenders of the  
castel were on the other syde attendyng & gyueng hede to the  
assaut and defendyng themselfe and the castel agaynst the ro-  
mayns. Whan the lumbard had espyed and consydzed euery  
thyng which he thought myght be auantage to his after pur-  
pose: than he descēded agayne downe warde by the same way  
which he ascended: but nat without hede nor with so lytel ad-  
uiseꝫment as he ascended by warde: but prouyng euery way/  
and lokyng about yf it were possible to byrnye into the castel  
any cōpany of men by that syde or nat. This wel consydzed:  
allone as he descended: anone he went to Marius and infor-  
med hym of euery thyng as he had done exhortyng & requi-  
ryng hym to put in pzoꝫse whether the castel myght be won on  
that syde where he had ben. Farthermoze he pnyꝫ sed hymselfe  
to be gyde vnto such as wold vnder take that inspyse sayeng  
that in the mater was no danger. Marius heryng these woꝫ-  
des of the lumbard/ sendefozth with hym certayne of his men  
of them which were there pꝫesent to vnderstand & knowe the  
trueth of the mater. Whan they had ben there & retourned to  
Marius agayne: some brought hym worde that the mater  
was easi to do: and some other sayd that it was very harbe &  
perylous. The sentēce of euery man was after as theiꝫ mynde  
gaue them. The cowardes thought it harbe/ but such as were  
of bolde hertes and despyꝫous of woꝫshyp thought it easi and  
without moche peryl. Neuerthelesse the mynde of Marius  
was somwat cralted to cōfoꝫt/ and good hope: and therfoꝫe of  
al the company of trumpettes/ and of other such mynstrels as  
be wont to be in batayle to gyue courage and signes to the  
fig: iters/ he chose forth fyue which were moost swyft & moost  
lyght and belyue: and. iiii. hundred men he assigned to assyꝫst  
and defende the sayd trūpettes. And al them he cōmaunded to  
obey to the lumbard and to be ruled & ordꝫed by hym in euery  
thyng. The day next folowyng was assigned to them to pꝫo-  
cede forth i theiꝫ besynesse. Whan the tyme assigned & pꝫeferred  
by Marius was come the lumbard with his cōpany had made  
redy and ordꝫed euery thyng: and so went to the place where  
he had ben before. But whan they were come thyder: the lum-  
bard theiꝫ gyde caused them to change theiꝫ armour / and to  
make bare theiꝫ heedes and theiꝫ fete: to thintent that they so  
bate heded the better might se aboue them and on euery syde  
of them: and that they beyng bare fore myght labour somoche  
the better

the better and take better hold in clymmyng by by the stones. Their swordes were fastned behynde at their backes & their buckelers withal/ which were made after the fassion of the numidpens buckelers of lether: bycause of lyghter weyght and burthen. And also to thintent that they shulde gyue lesse sounde or noyse / if it hapned any stone to smyte agaynst them.

This done: the lumbard went by before them / and bounde smal cordes to the stones and to the olde rotes whiche apered aboue the stones where he coude espy any sucher wherby the souldyours sustayning themselfe & takyng holde might moze lightly & with moze ease mount and clym bywarde. And somtyme he went before and helped them by with his handes specially such as for that vncustomed way were somewhat fercful.

Somtyme whan thascendyng or goyng by was ouer harde and sharpe: he put eche of them by before hym without armour: and than he hymselfe folowed with their armour and wepyn. Suche places where moost dour was in: he specially proued and assayd them moost of al: and in goyng & comyng often tymes by & downe by the same moost dangerous passages: he encreased audacite & boldnesse to the remenat. Thus after they had ben soze werped / and with long & great labour endeouored themselfe: at last they came into the castel / whiche on that syde they founde desolate & without defence. For (as sayd is before) al they which were with in the castel were occupied in fightyng / or redy to fight agaynst the romayns: as they were on other dayes before. But whan Marius vnderstode by messagers how the lumbard had done: howbeit that al the day before his men had ben soze bested and occupied in fightyng: & assayling the castel. Neuertheles specially at this tyme he exhorted & embolded them: and he hymselfe departing forth from vnder his pauases caused his souldyours to adioyne themselfe nere togyder / & to holde by their sheldes aboue their heedes / so that the cōtoynyng of them semed as it wey the frame of a bolt. Marius kept hym vnder the same for his defence / & so approached to the walles. And both he & his company which were nere about hym valiantly assayled the castel: and also other of his cōpany which stode a far of & coude nat come nere the walles for prease: assayled the castel fierly from a far and soze bered and put in feare their ennemies within the castel throwyng agaynst them plumettes of leed with spynges / arrowes / dartes / and al other maner engyns of batayle wherwith any thyng coude strongely be throwen into the castel. But the Numidpens within the castel had often before this tyme overtourned and brent the tentes and pauases of the romayns and toke thereby so great audacite and boldnesse that

Jugurth.

A. 1.

Sup terga gladij & scuta: vetū ea numidica excorijjs pōderis gratia: simul et offēsa quo leuius strasperēt. Igitur prāgrediēs ligur/saxa/et si q̄ vetustate radices eminebāt/laq̄is viciēbat: quib⁹ alleuati milites facilius ascenderent: interdū timidis insolentia itineris leuare manu. vbi paulo asperior ascensus erat/singulos prāse inermes mittere. Deinde ipse cū illorū armis sequi. q̄ dubia nixa videbātur/potissimum tentare/ac sēpius eadem ascendens et descēdens: deinde statim di grediēs ceteris audaciā addere.

Igitur diu multumq; fatigatitandem in castellū perueniunt: desertum ab ea parte/q̄ sicut alijs diebus omnes aduersum hostes aderant.

Marius vbi ex nuncijs ea quæ ligur agerat/cognouit. q̄q̄ tota die intentos prælio suos habuerat: tū vero cohortatus est milites: et ipse extra vineas egredi⁹ testudine acta succedere: et simul hostem tormentis/sagittarijsq; et funditoribus eminus terrere.

At Numidæ/sæpe antea vineis Romanorum subuersis: item incensis/non



## The batayle

castelli moribus sese tu-  
tabantur: sed pro muto  
dies noctesq; agitare: ac  
Romanis maledicere:  
Mario recordiam obie-  
ctare: militibus suis ser-  
uitium Iugurthæ minari:  
secundis rebus feroces  
esse. Interim oibus roma-  
nis hostibus: præliū in-  
tētis: vtrinq; pro glo-  
ria pro imperio: illis  
pro salute remanentibus:  
repente a tergo signacū  
neret:

ac primo mulieres et pu-  
eri qui visum procellerāt  
fugere: Deinde vti quis-  
q; muro proximus erat:  
postremo cūcti armati in-  
ermesq; quod vbi acce-  
dit: eo acius instare ro-  
mani: fundere ac pleros-  
que tantummodo saucia  
re. Deinde super occiso-  
rū vadere corpora: audi  
gloria: certantes murum  
ascendere: neque quemq;  
omnium præda morari.  
Sic sorte correpta Ma-  
rii temeritas gloriam ex  
culpa inuenit.

they defended nat themselfe within the castel walles: but wal-  
ked bp and downe without the castel walles bothe day and  
nyght reuylng and reproung the romayns and obiectyng  
cwardyle agaynst Marius. And thertynng that his sou-  
dours shulde be made subiectes and bonde men to Iugurth  
in tyme to come / whome they purposed at that tyme to make  
bonde to them. Thus whyle they thought themselfe sure and  
their mater in good case: they were harde and egar ynough  
reuylinge and thertynge the romayns. In the meane space  
whyle the romains and their ennemies were besyest fighting  
withal their myght: the romayns for laude / glorie / and lord-  
shyp: and the Numidiens for their helth and sauynge of their  
lyues. In one sodenly the lumbard with his company which  
were within the castel on the backsyde blew the trumpet-  
tes. First of al the women and chyldren which went to the  
walles to se the bykeryng were al abasshed and fled inwarde  
to the castel: and after them al the soudyours which were with-  
out and ncest to the walles and coude escape in. And finally  
they all bothe armed and bnarmed fled inwarde. Whan the  
romayns sawe this they assayled the castel moze fierly: some  
they slewe and ouerthrewe: some they wounded ouerpassynge  
o: standyng vpon the bodyes of them which were slayne. Al  
their desyre was with their handes to wyne glorie and wo-  
rshyp. They streued to ascende vnto the walles euery man co-  
uetynge to be before other. None of them al taryed no: was let  
with spoyling / no: prayes. Their great courage suffred them  
nat to loke there after / tyl by manhode and strength they had  
won the castel. Thus was fortune fauorable to Marius: so  
that his first negligence and vnwyle boldnesse to assaile a ca-  
stel incerpugnable / was tourned by chance from rebuke to glo-  
rie and laude / such was his fortune. But whan Marius had  
won this castel after estimacion of man nat able to be won:  
than was he lord of the moost part of al the treasour of Ju-  
gurth: the castel was gguen al to murdre and hauocke. And  
the soudyours of Marius richely rewarded euery man after  
his desert. .\*

**How in the meane tyme whyle this castel was  
in wyntynge / a noble man of Rome named  
Lucius Sylla: came from Rome to  
Marius with a great bende of  
horsemen: and of the maners  
& behauour of this Sylla.**  
**The .lv. Chappter.**

**M**ean tyme whyle this fiers assaute and victorie was concluded at this castel: a famous lord of Rome named Lucius Sylla/ treisourer of the army came from Rome to Marius with a great bende of hoymen. Whome the same

Marius at his departyng from Rome had left there to rayse and assemble socours vnto the war among the Italiens and other nations frendes and louers of thempire of Rome.

¶ But forasmoch as the matter moueth vs to make mencion of so worthy a man and of his disposicion and maners: therfore it semeth me conuenient in this part somewhat to write of his behauour & conuersacion: and that as bryefly as I may conueniently: namely for two causes. The first for that I intende nat to make relacon of his behauour & maners in any other place of this cronycle saue here. Secondly for asmoche as none other authour hath wrytten sufficiently of hym. For howe best that one hystoriagraph named Lucius Sisenna: wrote most dyligently and best of his actes of any other befor neuertheles me semeth that he spake lytel accordyng to trueth nor indyfferently. For his tong nor pen were nat at liberty for asmoche as he was somewhat in danger to sayd Sylla: wherby he was prohibyted to say or to write / accordyng to truth. For what by fauour & what by fere he durst nat touch the playnly the vices which were in hym. But here I purpose (all fauour and fere layd a part) indyfferently to write of hym.

¶ This Sylla of progeny: was descended of moost noble stocke of the romaies. Howbeit the name of his auncettry was almost lost and decayed by dulnesse/neglignce/and slouth of some of his lynage. In greke and in laten he was of lyke conynge: and excellently seen in both the langages. His mynde was great/and bolde of courage. Of voluptuous pleasours he was despyous: but moche more despyous of glozy & laude. In vacant leser he was moche enclined to the lustes of his body. But suche pleasure or voluptuousnes dyd neuer let nor withholde hym from any besynesse or ocupacion necessary: howbeit such pleasure so blynded hym that he toke no wyse of byrth/maners/and honestie couenient for his estate. He was moche eloquent of speche crafty & subtyll ynough. He had the wayes easely to get frendshyp/and it was also no maistry to get frendshyp of hym: in sayning/dissimulyng/and counterfaytinge of besynesses: his wytte was very hye and excellent. He was a matueplous & incredyble gyuer of many thynges / but specially of money: and befoze the warre and victoery which the noble men of Rome: had agaynst the comen people: He was so noble & worthy reputed that it is in maner incredyble: nor

Jugurth.

A.ii.

**C**Aeterū dum ea res agitur: Lucius Silla questor cum magno equitatu in castra venit: qui vti ex latio et socijs exercitū cogeret / Romæ relictus erat.

Sed quoniam nos tanti viri res admonuit: idoneum visum est de natura cultusque eius paucis dicere. Neque enim alio loco de Syllæ rebus dicturi sumus. Et Lucius Sisenna optime et diligentissime omnium / qui eas res dixere persecutus: parū mihi libero ore locutus videtur.

Igitur Sylla gētis patriciæ nobilis fuit: familia prope iam extincta maiorum signauia. Literis græcis atque latinis iuxta atque doctissime eruditus: animo ingēti: cupidus voluptatū: sed gloriæ cupidior: ocio luxuriosus esse: tamen ab negotijs nūq̃ voluptas remota ē: nisi q̃ de vxore potuit honestius consuli. Eacundus: callidus: et amicicia facilis: ad simulanda negocia altitudo ingēni: incredibilis multarum rerum/ac maxime pecuniæ largitor: atq̃ illi sceleratissimo omnium ante ciuilem victoriam nūq̃ super industriam fortuna fuit: multiq̃ dubitaueret: fortior an scelerior esset.



## The batayle

Nam postea quæ fecerat:  
incertum habeo: pudeat  
magis an pigeat differere.

Igit̃ Sylla ( vt supra dis-  
ctum est ) postq̃ in Africā  
atq̃ in castra Marij cum  
equitatu venit: rudis an-  
teet ignarus bellis soler-  
tissimus omnium in paus-  
is tempestatibus factus  
est. Ad hoc milites benig-  
ne appellare: multis ro-  
gantibus alijs ip̃e per se  
dare beneficia: inuitus ac-  
cipere: sed ea properanti-  
us q̃ as mutuum reddere:  
ipse a nullo repetere:

magis laborare id vt illi  
q̃ plurimi deberent: loca  
atque seria cum humillis  
mis agere.

In operib⁹ in acie atque  
ad vigilias mult⁹ adesse:  
neq̃ iterum ( quod praua  
ambitio solet ) consulis  
aut cuiusq̃ boni famā le-

his good fortune neuer passed the policy of his wyl: in some  
che that many men were in doubt whyther he was more fortu-  
nate than strong. But after the victorie of this warre: so his  
goodly was his demeanour & so cruel / that verily I knowe  
not whyther I may more be ashamed or greued to write it or  
to speke therof. For after that this warre of Numidy was en-  
ded: & both Marius & this Sylla were returned to Rome: a  
great discord fel bytwene the lordes & commons. Marius took  
part with the commons: but Sylla took part with the lordes  
and at last drove Marius forth of the cite. After that: an  
other man of great power called Cynna whiche had ben syue  
tymes cōsull of Rome gathered an hoost of men and took part  
with Marius agaynst this Sylla. But at cōclusion Sylla  
ouercame hym in batayle: and slewe hym. After this: Sylla  
cruelly murdered an other noble man of Rome named Catus  
Carbo: and with hym ponge Marius / one of this Marius  
whiche warred in Numidy. Last of al when this Sylla had  
won victorie ouer Marius & his fauourers: than became he  
most cruel of al other: in somuch that he fylled al the cite with  
blod of the citezins. But here wyl I leaue to speke farther of  
this Sylla / or of his behauour i crueltye: and returne to write  
of his behauour in this warre of Numidy vnder Marius.

After that this Sylla ( as I haue sayd before ) was come  
to Affrike & to the hoost of Marius with his cōpany of horse-  
men: within short season he became most expert in chualty &  
crafty aboue al other: howbeit before this tyme he was but ru-  
de & ignorant of dedes of chualty. And moreouer he trected &  
gouerned his souldyours with maners & mekenes. And ga-  
ue rewardes to many: to some whiche despyed hym: and to  
some other of his owne pleasure non despyed therto. But he  
wolde take no rewardes nor gyftes agayne / without it were  
agaynst his wyl. And if he so dyd at any tyme agaynst his  
wyl: than was he more redy to gyue agayne that which was  
gyuen to hym: than to pay that money which he had borrowed  
of other. He demaunded nothyng agayne of any man though  
it were due and det to hym: but rather he laboured and ende-  
uored hymselfe that many myght be in his det / and by suche  
meanes to haue them bounde to hym. And how best that he  
was one of the grettest of Rome: yet disdayned he nat the cō-  
pany of the most symple souldyours of the hoost: but cōmuned  
and accompanied with them both in sportes & in sadnes. In  
labours he was alway redy. In batayle & in watchyng: with  
other besynes of warre he suffred no man to be before hym.  
Nor i the meane season he nexther hurt the good name of the  
cōsul nor of none other good man: which thing men despyous

of woz hpp & honour be often wont to do so: in displaying of other they thinke to obtrayne great laude to the selfe. He onely laboured that none might passe hym neyther in counsell nor in might: or manhod of his hand. But he passed many. By whiche maners & condicions in short tyme he became very dere & wel beloued / nat onely to Marius: but also to al the host.

**How Marius preuayled in batayle agaynst both the two kynges / Jugurth and Bocchus. C The. lvi. chapyter.**



**B**ut whan Jugurth had lost the towne of Capsa / as is sayd befoze: and dyuerse other fortresses and other places defensyues which to hym were profitable. And also a great quantite of his treasour / wher in he moost trusted: Anone he sent messengers to kyng Bocchus requirynge hym in al hast to come to Numidy and to brynge his army with hym: sayng that it was hys tyme to make batayle with Marius. But whan he vnderstode that Bocchus prolonged the tyme in ouerlong taryng / haupng dyuers cōsiderations of peace and warre / as he that was in dout of the chaunce and fortune of the ende therof. Jugurth agayne corrupted the heart of his counsell with gyftes in lyke wise as he had done befoze: and prompted vnto the kyng Bocchus hymselfe / the thirde part of the kyngdome of Numidy: if the romayns were dyspuen out of Affrike / or yf the war shulde be brought to ende without losse or diminyschyng of his kyngdome and marches therof. The kyng Bocchus induced with hope of this reward: with a great multitude of people came to Jugurth / and adioyned both their armies togyder in one. ¶ At this tyme Marius with his cōpany was in his iournay towarde the pynne which was in the coast of Affrike & apartynd to thempire: where the sayd Marius purposed to rest with his cōpany / tyl the wynter were past. But whan he was in his iournay & in leest dout: Jugurth and Bocchus bothe togyder inuaded and set vpon hym and his men whan the tenth part of the day scarcely remayned. This dyd they: thynkinge that the nyght which was nere come shulde to them be great socour and defence if they were ouercome: and if they dyd ouercome the romayns: it shulde be to them no damage nor impediment by cause they knewe the contrey & place better than the romayns. But on the other syde bothe these chaunces: in darkenesse Jugurth.

A. iii.

deretātū modō cōsiliō ne  
q: manu priorem aliū pa  
ti: plerosq: anteuenire.  
Quibus rebus et artibus  
breui Mario et militibus  
charissimus factus est.

**A**T Jugurtha postq̃  
oppidum Capsam  
aliosque munitos  
et sibi vtilis / simul et pec  
cuniam magnā amiserat:  
ad Bocchū nūcios mittit:  
q̃ primū in numidiam co  
pias adduceret. Præliū fa  
ciendi tēpus adesse. Quē  
vbi cūctari accepit: et du  
biū belli atq: pacis ratio  
nes trahere: rursum vti an  
tea proximos eius donis  
corrupti.

Ipsi q: Boccho pollicetur  
numidæ tertiam partem /  
si aut romani aphyrica ex  
puli / aut integris suis fi  
nibus bellum composi  
tum foret. Eo præmio il  
lectus Bocchus / cum ma  
gna multitudine Iugur  
tam accedit. Ita ambo  
rum exercitu coniuncto:  
Marius iam in hiberna  
proficiscentem / vix deci  
ma parte diei relicta / in  
uadunt: rati noctem quā  
iam aderat / et victis sibi  
munimento fore: et si vis  
cissent: nullo impedimen  
to: q: locos sciētes erant.

Contra romanis vtrumq;



## The batayle

casum in tenebris difficilis  
lentore. Igitur simul cō-  
sul ex multis de hostium  
aduentu cognouit: et ipsi  
hostes aderant: et priusq̃  
exercitus aut instrui aut  
sarcinas colligere: deni-  
que ante q̃ signum aut  
imperium viliū accipe-  
re quirit: Equites mauri  
atq; getuli: non acie neq;  
villo more praelij: sed ca-  
teruatim: vti quosq; fors  
cōglobauerat: in nostros  
concurrunt. Qui omnes  
trepidī improviso metu:  
attamen virtutis inemo-  
res: aut arma capiebant:  
aut capientes illos ab ho-  
stibus defensabant.

Pars equos ascendere: ob-  
uiam ire hostibus: pugna  
latrocinio magis q̃ prae-  
lio similis fieri: sine si-  
gnis: sine ordinibus equi-  
tes peditesq; permisti ca-  
dere alios:

alios obtruncare: multos  
contra aduersos acerrime  
pugnantes ab tergo cir-  
cūuenire: neq; virtus: ne-  
que arma satis regeret: q̃  
hostes numero plures et  
vndiq; circumfuserant.  
Deniq; romani veteres:  
nouiq; et ob ea scientes  
belij: si quos locus aut cas-  
sus coniunxerat: orbes fa-  
cere.

Atque ita ab oībus parti-  
bus simul et recti et instrui  
et hostiū vim sustēbāt.

Neq; i eo tā aspero nego-  
tio Marius territus: aut  
magis q̃ antea dimisso a-  
nimo fuit: sed cum turma  
sua (quam ex fortissimis;

were harde and contrary to the romayns: for they knewe nat  
the coostes of that countrey. Marius anone had vnderstans-  
dyng of the cōpyng of his enemies by many of his espies:  
but it was ouerlate. For allone as he had worde: his ennemi-  
es were eyn at hande. In somoch that befoze the army coude  
be set in order or aray: and or they coude remouie or gather to-  
gyder their baggage which at that tyme was abrode: and be-  
foze they coude take any cōmaundement of their captayne by  
worde or sounde of trumpettes: The hoysmen of the Mauri-  
ans and of the Getulians ran togyder vpon them nat in or-  
der nor aray of batayle: but by companyes and bendes togy-  
der / as it fortunēd them to come togyder in heapes and clus-  
ters. The romayns for the moost part: were al amased and  
greuoussly abashed for that sodayne and vnprovidēd feare.  
Neuerthelesse they forgate nat their olde manhode & strength  
some drue them to their armour: and other some whiche were  
armed alredy defended their felowes tyl they armed thēselfe.  
Other some mounted on horsebacke and boldly rode agaynst  
their enemies: and encountred them belyantly. The fyght  
on both parties was moze lyke a skirmyll among brigand-  
es and rōuers than to any apoynted or orderēd batayle. For  
the hoysmen & fotemen were mengled togyder without stan-  
derdes / cognysances / or any ordynauce / aray / or order. The  
Maurians & Numidyans were fierce on their syde. Some  
of the romayns they beat downe and ouerthruē. Some they  
wounded mortally: And many they bereft bitterly of their ly-  
ues / and slewe them in that place. The remenant which shat-  
pely and manly resysted they compassed them about on euery  
syde: and as wel behynde as befoze assayled them: so that ney-  
ther manhode / strength / nor armour: was able sufficiently to  
defende them: And no matuel for their enemies were mo in  
nombze than they: and compassed them about on euery syde of  
thē. But finally the romayne souldyours whiche were bothe  
of olde and newe: and therfoze bothe strong / bolde / and crafty  
in batayle: gathered them as nere togyder as they myght.  
And where it fortunēd any nombze of them to mete togyder:  
they tourned backe to backe / & ioynded them rounde one with  
an other in maner of a compasse or cercle: and so they saued &  
defended themselfe togyder that on the backchaffe no man  
coude assayle them: but yf he brake in throughe the myddes of  
them whiche was in maner impossible. By this maner they  
sustayned the myght of their enemies: and also saued them-  
selfe. For their captayne Marius in this teopardous and  
sharpe besynes was nat affrayed at al / nor of lesse corage and  
boldnesse than he was befoze: but styzed about euery where

in the batayle. And his men of garde about hym whome he had chosen rather of the strongest and boldest men of the host/ than of such as were moost familer with hym. For he set more by the audacite of them/ thā by the familiarite of the other: and namely in such a leopardous case. Somtyme he socoured his soudpours in their nede/ or such as he sawe in payl. And somtyme he ran in amonge his ennemies: where they were thyrkest. And nat withstanding their resistance he assailed them valiantly: and wounded/ slewe/ and owerthrewe them on euery syde he dyed his weapen in the reed blode of the blacke Mauriens and Getuliens. And bycause that in so harde a case: and in so great and troublous noyse & rumour/ he coude nat counsel nor confort his soudpours with his tong/ therfore he thought to counsel/ incorage/ and confort them with his hande/ groupng them example surely to bestowe their strokes. Many of his ennemies sende he to hel cryeng in bayne vpon their ydolles for helpe. The dartes/ iaucyns pykes/ plumetes of leed/ stones/ with other suche instrumentes of batayle wey cast so thicke on both parties/ that the ayre therwith was indymed. The strokes were so courly charged on the bright helmes and harnesse/ that the fyre sprange out on euery syde: so that it semed to be the lpyghtnyng: the cry of the men dyeng: the nyeng of the hoyses: and the dyn of the strokes/ with the sounde of the trumpettes: was horryble and tedpous to here. Thus continued they tyl the day lpyght was passed/ and the nyght come. The numidyans/ getulians/ and maurians despysted nor ceassed nothing for that. But as both Jugurth and Bocchus befoze had warned & comaunded them: they continued more hartely than befoze/ thynking that the darkenesse of the nyght shulde be for their auantage. Marius this vnderstanding toke counsel & made best pussion for hymselfe & his men: whiche he myght in suche case: and as the mater requi- red. And to thintent that his people myght haue some place to resoyt vnto/ for refuge & socours: he prouyded befoze and occupied two hylles nere togyder of whome the one was ouer narrowe/ & of lytel grounde to receyue his hole army & tentes: but in the top therof was a fayre fountayne of pure water moch necessary. The other hyl was sufficiently large to receyue his hole hoost and tentes: and also very defensyue/ for it was of a great altitude and done right on euery syde. In somoche that they whiche shulde take that hyl were sure ynough without great defence of themselfe/ for nature had it sufficiently defended. This wel considered: Marius commaunded Sylla his vndercaptain to take with hym all the hoysmen: and to take that nyght about the smaller hyl where the fountayne was.

magis q̄ ex familiarissimis pauerat)

vagari passim: ac modo suis laboratibus succurrere: modo hostes/ vbi cōfertissimi obstitant/ inuadere:

manu cōsulere militibus: quoniam imperare cōturbatis oibus non poterat.

Iamq̄ dies consumptus erat: cum ramen barbari nihil remittere: atq̄ vti reges praeceperant: noctē pro se rati acius instare.

Tum Marius ex copia rerum consilia trahit: atq̄ vti suis receptui locus esset: colles duos propinquos inter se occupat.

Quorū in vno castris parū amplo sōns aquae magnus erat: alter vsui opportunior: quia magna parte editus et praepa- pauca munimenta gerebat.

Ceterum apud aquā Sylla cum equitibus noctem agitare iubet. Ipse dis- pos milites paulatim/ non minus hostibus cōturbatis/ in vnum contrahit.



## The batayle

Deinde cū os plenus gra-  
du in collem subducit.  
Ita reges loci difficultas-  
te coacti, praelio deterrē-  
tur; neq; tamen suos lon-  
gius abire sinunt. Sed  
utroq; colle multitudine  
circundato/effusi conse-  
dere.

Deinde crebris ignibus  
factis plerūq; noctis bar-  
bari more suo lātari: ex-  
ultare: strepere pedibus:  
vocibus: et ipsi reges fe-  
roces, q non fugerāt pro  
victoribus agere.

Sed ea cūcta romanis ex  
tenebris editoribus lo-  
cis facilia visu: magnosq;  
hortamento erant.

Plurimum vero Marius  
imperitia hostium cōlit-  
matusq; maximum scilē-  
tium haberi iubet: ne si-  
gnū quidem/vti per vigi-  
lias solebant/canere.  
Deinde vbi lux aduentas-  
bat: defessis iam hostibus/  
ac paulo ante somno cap-  
tis: de improviso victi-  
gales: item cohortū tur-  
marum/legionum tubici-  
nes simul omnes tuba ca-  
nere: et milites, clamorē  
tollere: aut portis erum-  
pere.

This done: he hymselfe gathered togyder by lytel and lytel  
the remanent of his soudpours disperfed abrode: their enne-  
mies being nat lesse troubled than were they. Whan Marius  
had thus assembled agayne his men togyder he led them all  
with ful cours by vnto the larger hyl. Thus the two kynges  
Jugurth & Bocchus seying it in bayne to fyght with the whi-  
che were on the hyer groude/and also on so sure a place: were  
cōstrayned to leaue the fyght: for difficultie of the place which  
the romayns had taken. But neuertheles in the meane tyme  
they suffred nat their men to depart say thens: but compased  
bothe the hylles round about with their hole multitude & there  
taryed & rested/shed abrode vpon the ground. Whan they had  
taken their place in this maner: they made great fiers here &  
there in many places of their hoost: and the barbarians after  
their custome passed forth the most part of the night in myrth/  
pleasure & gladnes/reioysing/daunsyng: and making great  
noyse and dyn: rennyng and goyng from place to place: and  
loudly cryeng/synging and reuellyng. The kynges themselfe  
were also nat a lytel proude and fearle: by cause they had nat  
fled from the batayle: and counted themselfe as ouercomers  
seyng that they helde the romayns so besieged which as they  
thought durst nat abyde them. On the other part the roma-  
ins intēpely gaue aduertēs to the demeanour of their enemies.  
And for that the romayns were on the hyght of the hyl and  
without lycht: therefore moze easy from darknesse of hyer pla-  
ces they perceyued al the dedes and behauour of their enne-  
mies which were beneth them: and moche moze euidently by  
light of the fyers. This vnwyle behauour of the numidiens  
put the romayns in great confort and was great courage to  
them. And specially Marius was greatly conformed in hope  
seyng their negligence/their folly/ and vncreafynesse: wher-  
fore he cōmaunded his folke to kepe sylence as styl as might  
be possible without any noyse. In somoche that he suffred nat  
the trūpetes to soude the wathe: as warryours at wont aga-  
ynst night. Afterwarde whan the day began to apere: the nu-  
midiens were al werped w their cryeng/ouerlate watchyng/  
and reuel: and had gyuen the selfe to rest a lytel before as men  
without feare or dout of þ romayns. But certenly it is a true  
puerbe which is often sayd: that after saye wether succedeth  
sepestious cloudes: and aff myrth & ioye often cometh sadnes  
and sorowe. So it hapened to the numidyens. For whyle they  
ingozged & fylled with wyne lay slepyng on the grounde as  
beestes without fere & without pursion: Marius cōmaunded  
sodenly all his trumpetes & clarionistes with other mynstrels  
to sound their instrumētes as theyle as they coude altogyder

and that al his souldyours shulde set by a shout or cry as horribly as they myght: and with that inuade and breke into the tentes of the numidyens. This was shortly done: wherfore the numidyens / mauriens / & getulians astonied and abashed with that unknowen and horrible noyse: were sodenly awakened of sleape: and seing them thus compassed with their enemies: what for feare of deth; and of the noyse they were so amazed that they had no power neyther to fle nor to drawe to them their armour / nor betterly to do or prouide any maner socour for themselves. Thus they stode astonied for this horrible noyse and cry as yf madness had entred them: none able to socour hymselfe nor other. The romayns alway increased to them their noyse and feare assailing / murdering / and wounding them without any resistance. Finally al they were ouerthrowen / slayne / or wounded: or els fled their armour / standerdes and weapen left behynde them: and mo were in this batayle slayne: than in al the batels before. For amonge them al none was taken prisoner: for with fere and sleape so amazed were they / that fewe escaped by flight.

**O**f the great prouision and wysdome of Marius after his victorie: and of the seconde batayle which he had agaynst the two kynges / in which also he had great victorie with laude & honour.

**The lxxii. Chaptyer.**

**W**hen Marius had gloriously thus overcome the moost part of his enemies except the two kyngs: he due hym than towarde his wyntering places as he had purposed before. And ordered hymselfe & his men specially in haue to wanes by cause of moze easy pursion of bytels: but neuertheles: in his iournay thyderwarde: for al his victorie: he became negligent / beware / nor proude: as captayns often at wont after victorie gotten of their enemies: but he prouided and went forward with his army quadrate and deuided into four partes ordered & apointed as if his enemies had ben in his sight. Sylla was assigned to take charge of the ryght wyng of the army and al the spear men with hym. And Julius Manlius of the left wyng. And with hym the syngars / archers / & the cohortes of Lumbardes. The peticapitayns with fotemen of lyght harnesse: were distributed and prouided in the vanguard and rereward. Of the treatours whiche had forsaken Jugurth and came to the romayns: such as were best labours

Mauri atque getuli igno-  
fo atq; horribili sonitu  
repente exciti/neque fu-  
gere/neq; arma capere ne-  
quomnino facere/aut pro-  
uidere quicq; poterat: ita  
cunctos strepitu/clamore /  
(nullo subueniente/nris in-  
stantibus)tumultu:terro-  
re: formidine: quasi ve-  
cordia acceperat.

Deniq; omnes fusi suga-  
tiq; arma et signa milita-  
ria pleraq; capta: plures-  
q; in eo prelio q; omnibus  
superioribus interempti  
sunt. Nam sono et metu  
insolito impedita fuga,

**D**Einde Marius/vti  
ceperat/inhiberna-  
it propter commea-  
tum,in oppidis maritis-  
mis agere decreuit: ne-  
que tamē victoria secors  
aut insolens factus: sed  
pariter ac si in conspectu  
hostium quadrato agmis  
ne incedere.

Sylla cū equitatu apud  
dextimos: in sinistra par-  
te Aulus Manlius cū fun-  
datoribus et sagittarijs:  
præterea cohortes ligus-  
rum curabat. Primos et  
extremos cum expeditis  
manipulis tribunos loca-  
uerat. Perfugæ regio-



## The batayle

num scientissimi hostium iter explorabant. Simul consul quasi nullo impo-  
sito omnia providere: apud omnes ad se: laudare fortis: et increpare mor-  
rentis. Ipse armatus in-  
retusq;. Item milites co-  
gebat: neq; secus atq; iter  
faceret: castra munire: ex-  
cubitus in porta cohors  
tes ex legionibus: pro ca-  
stris equites auxilios  
mittere: preterea alios i  
munimentis sup vallum  
locare: vigilas ipse circu-  
ire: non tã diffidentia fu-  
turum: quæ imperavisset:  
q̃ uti militibus ex aqua-  
tus cum imperatore la-  
bor volentibus esset.

Et sane Mari• illo alijs-  
q; tpius iugurthini bel-  
li mag; pudore q̃ malo ex-  
ercitum coerceret: quod  
multi p̃ abitione aiebant:  
alijsq; a pueritia cõsuetã  
duritiã: & alijsque ceteri  
miserias vocat: volupta-  
ti habuisset: nisi tã reip.  
pariter ac sauciissimo imp-  
io bene atq; decore oia ge-  
sta sunt.

Igitur quarto deniq; die  
haud lōge ab oppido Cir-  
tha vndiq; simul specula-  
tores citi sese ostendunt.

red and knewe best the contray / were chosen forth and sent out  
to espy the contray and wayes of Jugurth & Bocchus. But  
nat withstandyng Marius hymselfe was as prouident / cir-  
cūspect / and diligent withal: as if he had cōmytred the charge  
to none other. He was mouyng cōtinuallly from place to place  
ouer all the army: laudyng / cōmendyng / and rewardyng the  
good soudyo's: and blamyng and rebukyng the bad he hym  
selfe armed / and diligently prouidyng and ministryng vnto  
them euery thyng necessary and expedient: and cōpelled them  
that were frowarde and p̃wyllyng to labour. In euery place  
where he set his tentes in his iournay: he ordred defence with  
depe dyches and trenches rounde about his hoost. And in the  
entres of the tentes he assigned soudyo's elect therto to kepe  
watch and some to kepe scout watch about the tentes in com-  
passe. Moreouer some other he ordred on the castyng of the  
dyches and on ourwarde bulwarkes to defende the remanent  
if any sodayne peryl aperted. He hymselfe armed nyghtly wēt  
about and serched the watch. Nat specially for any feare nor  
imprust of any paryl to come nor for feare that his soudyo's  
would nat obey his cōmaundemēt. But specially to then-  
tent that the loudyours seying their captayne nat refusyng la-  
bour nor paryl: shuld be also more wyllyng to folowe the same  
and to take payne vpon themselfe as ashamed if they dyd nat  
asmoche as their captayn. And certenly at this tyme & at many  
other during this warre (as I rede) Marius cōstrayned his  
soudyo's to labour rather for shame thã w̃sharpnē or punis-  
shemēt. For shame it is to the seruant to be ydle whã the mai-  
ster soze laboereth. Howbeit some sayd that Marius toke this  
labour vpon hym for the desyre of cōmendacion & worshyp:  
bpcause that frō his youth he was euert wonr with hardnesse /  
hunger / thirst / and labour: and many other thynges whiche  
the delycate gentylmen of our tyme count for miseries. But  
to Marius were these hardnesse moche pleasure and delyte  
for affection whiche he had agaynst the commen wayle / as  
equal persones supposed. But to what euert intent Marius:  
treated his army in this wyse: it was knowen that his dedes  
dyd asmoche profet and worshyp to the commen wayle of Ro-  
me: as if he had more rigozously and sharpely treated his  
soudyours. For al thynges were ordred wel and worthely for  
the honour and profet of the commen wayle: as if he had mo-  
re rigozously treated his army. . . .

¶ But to retourne to my purpose: whan Marius with suche  
dyligence as sayd is: was come nat far from the towne of  
Cirtha / at the last the fourth day after the forsayd batayle: the  
espyes of their ennemies appered on euery syde. The romais

understode anone therby that their enemies were at hande. The espies of the romayns also which were sende forth: brought the same tidynge from euery coast of the countrey. Marius perceyued that his enemies were in diuerse companies and deuided: wherfore he was vncertayne howe he myght best order his host to receyue them: And therfore perceyuing it vnsure: how to order the forefront of his batayle as it ought: he abode his enemies in the same place no order chaunged with his host deuided in.iiii. partes (as sayd is) as he whiche was redy and prouyded for euery chaunce. Thus was Jugurth deceyued and frustrate of his purpose. For he had deuided his host into four partes trustynge to inuade some of the romayns on the backehalfe with parte of his army: and with an other part to encounter with them / and with the other two partes to enclose them on both the sydes: and so to enuiron them rounde about. In the mean tyme Sylla which first encountered with Jugurth exhorted & comforted his men as well as he might for breuite of the tyme. That done: anone he proceeded with his company by bendes & clustes togyder / their hostes conioyned in the moost thickest maner: and so fierly assailed the Maurians. The remanent of the footemen whiche were vnder Sylla: remayned and kept themselves styll in their first place: and defended their bodies from the darts whiche their enemies threue agaynst them from farre. But if it chaunced any of their enemies to come bytwene their handes: they hewed them downe to decrease the nombre.

Whyle Sylla and his hostmen thus fierly were fightynge on the right wyng of the batayle: The kynge Bocchus assembled togyder the footemen whome his son named Molur / had brought thider with hym. These footemen had suche impediment in their iournay thiderwarde that they came ouerlate to the other batayle whiche was last foughten before this. Wherfore Bocchus: whan he had assembled & inbolded with his wordes these frellhe footemen: with them he assailed fierly the reterwarde of the romayns.

In the meane tyme Marius hymself was occupied in the forward of his host and there employed his wysdome and strength / as a valiant and worthy captayne: and so stode it hym in hande. For in the forward Jugurth hymselfe with his grettest power & strongest company of men inbatayled with hym. But after that Jugurth knewe of the comynge of Bocchus to the felde: anone he turned hym with a smal company about hym priuely vnto the footemen of the romayns: and there with an hye voyse he cried vnto them / sayng that they fought but in vayne. For a lytel before he had slayne Marius

Quare hostis adesse itela legitur. Sed quia diuersi redeunt / alius ab alia parte / atque omnes idem significabant: consul incertus / quonammodo acie instrueret: nullo ordine comutato / aduersum eia paratus ibidem opperiri.

Ita Jugurthæ spes frustrata: qui copias in quatuor partes distribuerat: ratus ex oibus æque alios ab tergo hostibus venturos.

Interim Sylla quem primum hostes attigerat / cohortatus suos turmatim / q̄ maxie coniectis equis ipse atq; mauros inuadunt:

Ceteri in vno loco manentes ab iaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere: et si qui in manus venerant / obtruncare.

Dū eo modo equites preliantur / Bocchus cum pedibus / quos Volux filius eius adduxerat / neque in priore pugna in itinere morati affuerant / postremam aciem romanorū inuadit:

Tū Marius apud primos agebat: q̄ ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis erat.

Deinde numida / cognito Bocchi aduentu / clam cū paucis ad pedites conuertit: ibi latine (nam apud numatiam loqui didicerat) exclamat: nros frustra pugnare: ante paulo Marium sua manu inter-



## The batayle

fectū: simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere: quem in pugna satis impigre/occiso pedite nro/ cruentauerat. Quod ubi milites acceperunt/ magis atrocitate rei q̄ fide nuntij terrētur: simulq; barbari animos extollere/ et in percussos acius intendere.

Iamq; paululū a fuga ab erant/ cum Sylla (profligatis his quos aduersum ierat) rediens mauris ab latere incurrit.

Bocchus statim auertitur. At Iugurtha dum sustentare suos/ et prope iam ad septam victoriam retinere cupit/ circumuētus ab equitibus dextra sinistraque omnibus occisus: solus inter tela hostium uisus tabundus erupit.

Atq; interim Marius/ fugatis equitibus/ occurrit auxilio suis/ quos pelli iam acceperat.

Deniq; hostes iam undiq; fusi sunt: tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus:

Sequi/ fugere/ occidi/ capere/ equi atque viri afflicti: ac multi vulneribus

with his owne handes. And in cryeng these wordes he lysted bp withal/ and shewed his swerde al ouerspryncled and dyed with blode: whiche he had so couloured in the batayle fierly ynough in murthering the foremen of the romayns. These wordes Jugurth cryed in latyn tong. For he had lerned to speke latyn longe before in the batayle of Numance. When the romayns herde these wordes they were affrayed/ but moze for crueltye of the noyse: than for any confidence or trust whiche they had to the messenger. But on y other syde the mynides of the barbariens wey bolded & exalted by these wordes: by reason wherof moze sharply they inuaded the romayns/ seynge them abashed & astonped. And now were the romains of the forwarde at that poynt that they were redy to gyue themselves to flyght: as men dyscouraged for the sayd tidynge.

When they were at this poynt: it fortunied so at the same tyme that Sylla had beaten and ouerthrowen the mauriens which inuaded and assailed hym on the right wyng of the batayle: wherfore he retourned to his cōpany & fierly assailed the fresshe foremen which wey with Bocchus/ and at one syde brake in amonge the thyrkest of them. But Bocchus anone tourned his backe: and gaue hymselfe to flyght.

On the other syde Jugurth which in his part of the batayle almost had optayned byctorye/ dyd his diligence to incourage & support his cōpany: and to mentayne that auantage whiche he had won. And at conclusion al in bayne. For whyle he laboured there about as a worthy captayne: the spear men of the romayns so cōpased hym & his cōpany about both on y right syde & on the lyft: that al his garde & other which were about hym at conclusion were slayne. But he hymselfe glad to saue his lyfe/ brake forth alone from among y myddes of his enemies: and from weppys and hartes with great difficulty.

But in the meane tyme Marius had overcome & driuen away the horsmen which assailed hym. Wherfore anone he returned fierly to helpe and socours of his company whome he vnderstode somewhat put backe by violence of their enemies. But he by his policy and balliant dedes anone so reconforted his men that none of his enemies were able to withstande their violence in any part of that batayle.

Thus finally the romayns after great labour and many greuous woundes discomfited their enemies on euery syde. But when the batayle was ended and the romayns began to pursue the chase: than verily it was a pytefull and horrible syght to beholde in the open felde and to consyder the cruel spectacle of batayle. Howe some fled: Some pursued/ some intraged murthering/ some tored dyeng/ some slayne/ some taken prisoners.

ken prisoners. The horse and men mengled togther: labouring in the panges of deeth. The ground ouerspreed with deed corpes mangled/mutulate/and horribly hewyn: inuolued in blode cōgeled. The horse wounded: as mad dyewe after them the deed carcases of their maisters / their legges hangyng in the styropes / and their speares halfe thozowe their bodyes trapling after in the dust. The courseters wounded and slepyng cast bp with their sere the dust tempered with blode rennyng ouer the deed bodyes of their lordes. Many of the Numidys which were sore wounded coude neyther fle: noz be suffred to take rest on the grounde. Somtyme they laboured to ryle & auoyde: and anone after for feblenes fel downe to the ground agayne: eche rowlyng & turnyng in other blode. And finally: as far as any mannes spght myght extende / al the grounde was ouerspreed and couered with armout/wepen/and deed carpons rennyng of blode. And al the ground infect with the same / horryble to beholde. . . .

**Howe** Bocchus after that he was thus twyse ouercom in batel/purposed to make peace with the romayns: and howe at his request Marius sende vnto hym Sylla and Manlius to knowe his mynde in that behalfe.

**The. lviij. Chapter.**

**A**fter that this batel was thus ended to the bitter damage & distruction of the Numidys: and to the laude & honour of the romayns. Marius was now without dout ouercomer & victour and went vnto the towne of Cirtha as his tournay and purpose was at first begynnynge befoze these two batayls. Whan Marius had sojourned there fyue dayes aft this batayle: there came vnto hym embassado's fro kyng Bocchus. Whiche in their kyngs behalfe despyed of Marius to sende vnto hym two of the most trusty men whiche he had: sayng that he wold cōmen & treat with them of dyuers besynesses both for his owne profet: & for pfet & auantage of the romayns also. Marius without tary sende forth Sylla for one: and Aulus Manlius for an other. Whan they were come to kyng Bocchus: howbeit he had sende for them to cōmen with them in his matters. Neuertheles it was cōcluded bytweene them to speke to hym first to the intent to kyndell and inflame his mynde the moze agaynst Jugurth: or els lepyng hym some what despyous and wyllyng to haue peace to prouoke hym to moze despye therto. Wherefoze Sylla (to whom Manlius gaue place nat for his age / but for his eloquence) began & spake to Bocchus in maner: as foloweth. . . .

Jugurth.

D. i.

acceptis neque fugere possent: neque quietem pati:

niti modo: ac statim concidere:

Postremo omnia qua visus erat/constrata telis/ armis/cadaveribus/ & in terea humus infecta sanguine.

**P**ostea loci cōsul haud dubie iā victor peruenit in oppidū Cythā: quo in initio profectus sēderat: eo post quintū diem quā iterū barbari male pugnauerant/legati a Boccho veniunt: qui regis verbis ab Mario petieret duos q̄ fidissimos ad eum mittere: velle de suo et de populi romani cōmodo cum his differere. Ille statim Lucium Syllā / & Aulum Manliū ire iubet. Qui q̄ acciti ibant/ tamen placuit verba apud regem facere: quo ingenium aut aduersum flecterent: aut cupidum pacis vehemētius accenderent.

Itaq; Sylla cuius facundia non etati a Manlio concessum est: verba pauca huiusmodi locutus est.



## The batayle

Of the wordes of Sylla tresoure r of the roma  
yne army had before kyng Bocch<sup>9</sup>. The. lix. cha.

**R**ex Bocche magna nobis laticia est: cū te talē virū dī mōnuere: vt aliquādo pacē q̄ bellū malles: neu te optimū cum pessimo oīm Iugurtham miscendo cōmāculares. Simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem: pariter et te errātem et illum sceleratissimum psequi. Ad hoc populo romano iam a principio inopi: melius visū amicos q̄ seruos quāterē: tutiusq̄ rati volentibus q̄ coactis imperitare.

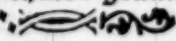
Tibi vero nulla opportunior amicitia nostra: primum q̄ procul absumus: in quo offensæ minimum esset gratia par/ac si prope adesse ius. deide q̄ patētes abunde habemus.

Amicorum neq; nobis neque cuiq̄ hoīm satis fuit. Atque hoc vti nā tibi a principio placuisset: profecto ex populo romano ad hoc rēpus multo plus bona accepisses: q̄ mala perpeissus esses.

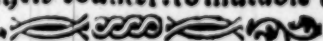
Sed quoniam humanarū rerum fortuna pieraque regit: cui scilicet placuit vim et gratiam nostram te experiri: nunc quoniā per illam licet festina atq; vti cōpisti perge.

Multa opportuna habes: quo facilius errata officis superes.

**K**ing Bocchus we haue great gladnes and ioye syth it is so that the goddes haue thus admonished & inspired you so noble a man that at last ye haue reputed peace better & moze acceptable than war: lest ye myght dishonest & desyle your worthynesse by associating your selfe to the moost unhappye tyran Iugurth. And also we are glad that ye haue auoyded the occasion & necessite: wherby we were moued to pursue in batayle: you being ignorant of our quarel: and in the cōpany of s̄ sayd most cursed Iugurth tyran & enemy to the myghte of Rome. And certainly s̄ people of Rome enen syth their pooze / simple / & smal begynning haue thought it better to wynn frēdes than seruātes or bondmen and also they haue thought it a moch surer thyng to haue vnder their empire suche as wyllyngly & of their owne motion wolde yelde the selfe: than such as they haue cōstrayned therto agaynst their wyl. But verily no frendshipp is moze necessary to you than our ampte or frendshipp. At first of al: by cause we and ye be farre in sonder: wherby we shal haue les power to greue you / or to put you to any charge: by reason of our frendshipp. But our fauour & thanks may be as redy to you: as if we were nere togyder: cōsidering the many & great frendes whiche we haue nat far from your marches. And also vnto the myghte of Rome be obeyers / subgettes & seruantes abundantly. But as touchyng louers & frendes we no: none other can haue sufficiently ynough. For this consideracion kyng Bocchus your frēdshipp shalbe moze acceptable vnto vs. And wolde god it had pleased you thus to haue done at the begynning of this war. Forsooth if ye had so done: than shulde ye before this tyme haue receyued of the romayns mo cōmodities / auātages / and good dedes than ye haue nowe suffred losse / damages / or hurtēs. But whyle it is so that mannes dedes & besynelles (for the moost part) be ruled by fortune: to whiche fortune it hath pleased that ye shuld both proue and assaye our myght and violence in batayle: and also our loue & fauour in peace: Therfore nowe syth amptie is proffered to you by suffraunce of fortune: and syth it is lauful to you to take it: be nat slowe from hens forwarde / but hastely procede as ye haue begun: that ye may proue the romayns frendes to you lyke as ye haue proued them enemies before this tyme. Ye haue many expedient oportunites & necessary cōmodities by whome ye may make amendes to your good dedes for that ye haue offered agaynst the romayns & ouerpasse your olde fautes with

newe kyndneses and benefites: and finally fir this in your  
hert that ye or any other shal neuer ouercome the peple of Ro-  
me with kyndnes or good dedes. And as touchynge their  
hatered/and of what myght they ar in batayle: ye your selfe  
knowe that by pzoofe & experieñce. Wherfoze pzoceede in acqui-  
ring of their frendshyp: whiche gladly shalbe graunted vnto  
you/ if your merites shal so deserue. .

**O**f the answer of Bocchus made to Sylla:  
and of the vnstabilenesse of mynde of the same  
Bocchus. **C**The .lx. chapyter.

**I**n these wordes of Sylla answered  
Bocchus myldely and soberly: and a fewe wo-  
des he spake in excusing his offence done agayn-  
the romayns / sayeng that he had nat taken ar-  
mour nor begon way agaynst them as ennemy to  
do iniury or wrong vnto them: but to defende his owne kyng-  
dome. And that the thirde part of Numidy belonged vnto  
hym by lawe of armes: of the which the romayns laboured to  
expel Jugurth. And in that doyng they destroyed his part of  
the contrey: whiche he coude nat suffer vtrenuenged. Moze-  
ouer Bocchus sayd for hymselfe that he had sende vnto Ro-  
me before to requyre ampte and frendshyp of the romayns:  
whiche thing vnto hym was denyed. But at cōclusion he sayd:  
that he wolde omitt & lay a part al olde malys & that althynge  
shulde be done and agreed bytwene them: yf Marius wolde  
graūt hym that his embassadours might be sende to Rome:  
for the sayd frendship to be cōfederate with y romayns. Upon  
this answer Sylla & his felawe retourned to Marius whi-  
che anone agreed y the same embassado's shuld be sēt to Ro-  
me. But shortly after: what tyme Jugurth vnderstode of the  
cōmpng of Sylla & Manlius he feared the same thynge/whi-  
che was ordeind & in hande. And anone w rewarde so he cor-  
rupted the frendes of Bocchus: that agayn they chaūged his  
mynde with their counsel: so mutable and variable was he  
of mynde. .

**H**ow Bocchus chaūged his purpose yet ones  
agayne: and sende newe embassadours to Ma-  
rius to treat of the peace: and howe Sylla recey-  
ued and treated them in absence of Marius.

**C**The .lxi. chapyter.

Jugurth.

D. ii.

postremo hæc in pectus tu-  
um demitte: nunq̃ popu-  
lum romanum beneficijs  
victum esse. Nam bello  
q̃ valeat, tute scis.

**A**Dea Bocchus pla-  
cide et benigne/ si-  
mul pauca pro des-  
ticto suo verba facit: se nō  
hostili aio/ sed ad regnū  
tutandum arma cepisse.  
Nam Numidiæ partem  
vnde Jugurtham expule-  
rit/ iure belli suam factam:  
eam vastari a Mario pati  
nequiuisse.

Præterea missis antea ro-  
mam legatis/ repulsū ab  
amicitia. Cæterum vete-  
ra omittere: actūq̃ si per  
Mariū liceret/ legatos  
ad senatum missurū.

Deinde copia facta mit-  
tendi/ animus barbari ab  
amicis flexus/ quos Ju-  
gurtha/ cognita legatio-  
ne Syllæ et Manlij/ metu-  
ens id/ quod parabat/ do-  
nis corruerat.



## The batayle

**M**arius interea exercitu in hibernis constituto: cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca solatia obsidum tutam regionem: quo Iugurtha perfugas oēs praesidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus scilicet erga romāos seu reputando quæ sibi duobus praelijs euenerāt: seu monitus ab alijs amicis: quos Iugurtha incorruptos reliquerat: ex omni copia necessariorum quicquid delegit: quorum et fides cognita et igenia validissima erat. Eos ad Mariū: ac deinde si placeat Romam legatos ire iubet: agenda rerum et quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam permittit. Illi mature ad hiberna romanorum proficiscuntur. Deinde in itinere a Getulis latronibus circumuenti: spoliati que pauidi sine decore ad Syllam profugiūt: quem consul in expeditionem proficiscens pro prætore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro uanis hostibus ut meriti erat: sed liberaliter habuit.

Quare barbari et famam romanorum auaritiæ falsam: et Syllam ob munificentiam in sese amicum esse rati sunt. Nam etiam tunc largitio multis ignota erat. munificus etiam nemo putabatur: nisi pariter volens dona omnia in benignitate habebant.

Igitur quæstori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt: simul ab eo petūt: uti fau-



**I**n the meane tyme Marius set and ordered his host in their wyntering places: & toke wth hym such men as were of lyght harness: and also a part of his horsemen: & with them went into a desert nat fay thens: to besige a certayne towre belongyng to Iugurth: into whiche towre the sayd Iugurth had put for garnyson & defence: al the treato's which had forsaken & fled from the romayns to Iugurth. But in the meane whyle Bocchus of new agayne cōspired in mynde the misfortune whiche had hapened to hym in the two batayls before. Or els by counsel of some other of his frendes: whome Iugurth had nat corrupted with reward: he chose forth among al. v. men whose fidelite & trueth he had wel knownen & often proued before: and whose wysdome was most expert & redy. Them sende he to Marius: & comaunded them afterwarde if the matter requyred as embassado's to take their way to Rome: and committed to them his ful authorite in euery thyng which was to be done: and to cōclude the war by what euery maner shuld seme best: and moost expedient to their discrecion. These embassadours toke leue & spedely toke their tournay to the places where the romayns sojourned the wynter season. But whyle they were in their tournay thiderwarde: they were assailed of theues of the getulians: and robbed & spoyled of al that they had about them. Thus at last without wo'shpy or apparel: all affrayed & abashed they fled vnto Sylla for refuge. This Sylla was left by Marius in the wynteryng places: to be ruler of the romayne army in his absence. What tyme these embassado's: thus spoyled were come to Sylla for refuge: he receyued them nat fayntly as bayne & vnstable enemies as they deserued: but curteysly with moch gentylnes & liberalite: treatyng them in al poyntes honozably. By this meanes these barbarians & rude people counted and supposed that the name of couetyse: whiche was imputed vnto the romayns by comen fame was but false & fayned of their enemies: to distayne their honour. And also for the moch liberalite of Sylla: they counted hym as their special frende. For yet vnto that tyme: the acclopeng of gyftes gauen for rewardes for policy & fallshode to ouercōe couetous or simple mynges: was vnknown vnto many. No man was liberal in gyfts: but that he was thought & couēd to be faythful of hert withal. Thus the barbarians reputed the liberte & reward of Sylla to be a great & euident token of loue which he had to them: as they demed. But to our purpose: the embassadours anon opened & declared to Sylla the wyl & comaundement of Bocchus their kyng: gauen to them to be executed: And also they

requited hym to be hinto them a frendly fauourer & counsellour in their besynesse. farthermoze with their wordes and spech they comended & exalted the army/the trueth/the greatness & excellence of their kyng: and al other thyngs which they thought might auayle them to optayne benyuolence of the romayns. After they remayned with Sylla about the space of xl. dayes: whiche graunted them al his helpe and socour and also in the mean space enfourmed them in what maner they shulde order their wordes whan they shulde speke with Marius: and also befoze the senatours at Rome.

**How Marius harde thembassadours of Bocchus & sende them to Rome: and how they were answered of the senatours. The. lxxii. chapyter.**

**I**n the mean tyme Marius whiche was in assaut of the kynges towne coude nat perfourme his enterpryse. Wherefoze he retourned agayne to Cirtha: anone was he certified of comyng of the imbassadours of Bocchus. Wherefoze he comaunded them & Sylla also to come befoze hym: and also he called togyder all the moost worthy men of his holt hoost from euery place. Befoze them al presently he comaunded the imbassadours of Bocchus to reherse the peticion of their kyng (which reherled & harde) it was graunted hinto them to go Rome for the same poyntes. And of Marius was truelle required in the meane tyme by twene Bocchus and hym. Sylla with many other noble men were pleased withall. A fewe other sterly and sharply counselled otherwyle: as men without pyte and ignorant of others harde fortune whiche whan it begynneth to be frowarde and contrary: it tourneth euery thyng to aduersyte.

**B**ut whan mauriciens had obtayned of Marius al their desyre: thre of them went to Rome with one named Octaupus Rufo: whom Marius had assigned to conuey the thyder. This Octaupus Rufo was sende befoze from Rome into Africke to Marius with wages for the souldyours. The other two imbassado's of Bocchus returned home agayne to their kyng: whiche of them gladly harde of the good report whiche they made of the Romayns in euery poynt: and specially of the good wyl/lyberalite/and courtesy of Sylla.

**B**ut whan the other thre imbassadours were come to Rome they apered befoze the senatours and in the humblest wyle they coude deuise / byd their message excusynge their kyng:

Iugurth.

D. iii.

tor consultorq; sibi adsit. copias/sidem/magnitudinem regis sicut alia quæ aut vtilia: aut beneuolentia esse credebant: oratione extollunt.

Deinde Sylla omnia pollicito: doctiq; quomodo apud Marium item apud senatum verba facerent: circiter dies ibidem. xl. opperiantur.

**M**arius postq; infecto negotio: quo intenderat redit Cythra: & de aduentu legatorum certi or facti est illosq; & Sylla ab Utica venire iubet. ite q; Lucium Bellienum prætorē præterea omnes vniūque senatorij ordinis: quibuscum nūdata Bocchi cognoscit: inquis legatis potestas eundi Romam sit: et ab consule interea induciæ postulantur.

Ea Syllæ et plerisque placere. pauci ferocius discernunt/ignari rerum humanarum: quæ fluxæ et mobiles semper in aduersa mutantur.

Cæterum mauri/impetratis omnibus/tres Romanam profecti/cum Cneo Octauiο Rufo: qui quæstor stipendium in Aphricam portauerat. Duo ad regē redeunt. Ex his Bocchus cum cætera: tū maxime benignitatē: et suum Syllæ libens accepit. Romæq; legatis eius/postq; errasse regem et Iugurthæ scelere lapsū dep



cati sunt: amicitiam et fœ-  
dus petentibus hoc mo-  
do responderetur.

Senatus et populus ro-  
manus beneficij et iniu-  
riæ memor esse solet.

Cæterum Boccho, quoni-  
am pœnitet delicti, grati-  
am facit, fœdus et amicitia  
dabûtur, cū meruerit.

**Q** Vis rebus cogni-  
tis Bocchus plit-  
teras a Mario pe-  
tiuit, vti Sillam ad se mit-  
teret. Cuius arbitrato de  
negotijs cōmunibus cōsu-  
lere. Is null' cū p̄sidio es-  
quitū atq; peditū: itē fun-  
ditos et ballistarios. Pre-  
terea iere sagittarij: & co-  
hors peligna cū velitari-  
bus armis itineris prope-  
rādi causa, neq; sec' his at-  
q; alijs armis aduersū te-  
la hostiūq; ea leuia sūt: mu-  
niti erant. Sed in  
itinere quinto denique  
die Volux filius Bocchi  
repente in campis paten-  
tibus cum mille non am-  
plius equitibus sese ostē-  
dit: qui temere et effuse  
eūntes, Syllā alijsq; om-  
nibus et numerum ampli-  
orem: et hostilem metum  
efficiebant. Igif se quis-  
que expedire: arma atq;  
tela tentare: intendere:  
timor aliquātus: sed spes  
amplior: quippe victori-  
bus et aduersū eos quos  
sæpe vicerant. Interim  
equites exploratum pre-  
missi: rem vti erat: quierā

## The batayle

and confessyng that he had offended agaynst the empyre nat  
by his owne sekynge: but by the cursed fault prouocation / and  
instygation of Jugurth: wherof their kyngs soze repented.  
Wherfoze in his behalfe at conclusyon they besought the ro-  
mayns of pardon/ ampte/ and peace. Than was it byrefely an-  
swered to them in this maner.

**T**he senatours and people of Rome: is wont to remembre  
both the kyndnesse and benifytes of their frēdes: and also the  
iniurpes of their ennemys. But syth it repēteeth and forthyn-  
keth Bocchus of his trespas: grace and pardon of his offence  
is graunted vnto hym. Peace and ampte shalbe also graun-  
ted vnto hym hereafter / whan he shal so deserue.

**W**hen Marius sent Sylla agayne to Bocchus  
at his desyre: and what danger the same Sylla  
escaped by helpe of Volux / son of kyng Bocchus.

**The. lxiij. chapyter.**

**W**hen Bocchus vnderstode al these thin-  
ges: he despyed Marius by his letters to sende  
vnto hym Sylla: to thentent y after his aduysle  
& discrecion counsel might be had of the cōmen be-  
synesse to bothe parties belōgyng. Sylla anone  
was send forth w a great retynue of fotemen & hozsemē: with  
diuerse weapen & stronge defēce as archars / slyngars / with  
otherlike. And to thynēt to spede their tournay moze hastely:  
they were al armed w lightest harnes which coude be puided  
but for al the lightnes of their armour it was defēse ynough  
agaynst the weappns of the mautryans: for their weppns be  
light in likewyse. But finally whan Sylla had passed fyue  
dayes of his tournay: sodenly Volux the son of Bocchus ape-  
red and shewed hymselfe to the romayns in the open felde:  
with no mo but. M. men which went scatered and dyspersed  
abrode negligētly: so that they semed to Sylla: and al other  
a greater nombze than they were in dede. Sylla and al his  
company feared them/ thinkyng them ennemys: wherfoze  
the romayns made them redy with armour and weapen: to  
defende themselfe/ and to resyst their ennemys: if nede shulde  
so requyre. Al pteleare was amonge them: but their hope  
and confort ouerpasse their feare. For why they had the by-  
per hande befoze: and consyded that they shulde bycket with  
them whome they had often ouerthowen and overcome be-  
foze. In the meane tyme the hozsemen whiche were sent be-  
foze of both parties to espy y truely of the mater/ certified eche

of them that al thynge was quyet and sure ynough: as it was  
in dede: without treason or parpl. Volux in his metyng called  
Sylla by name: and welcomed hym benyngely: sayeng that  
he was sent from his father Bocchus to mete the sayd Sylla  
for his honour/locout/ & defence. And so proceded they forthe  
warde al this day and the next day after in company togpyder  
without feare or daunger. But after that it was nyght & their  
tentes pytched: sodenly the maurian Volux came rennyng to  
Sylla al pale & quakyng: and sayd that he was infourmed of  
the espyes: that Jugurth was nat far thens. And with that  
prayed & exhorted hym to fle away w hym prtiuely by nyght.  
Sylla denyed that utterly as fierse and bolde of courage/  
sayeng that he feared nat a cowarde numidyen: which so of  
ten had ben ouercome befoze. And that he trusted wel ynough  
to the strength & courage of his men: and finally he gaue Volux  
this answer. If I knewe without dout that our sure  
distruccion were instat: and that I and myne shulde be slayne  
in the feld/ yet wold I nat fle for any drede: but rather abyde  
and dye manfully: than cowardely to flee & shame my people  
of whome I haue charge in sparyng our lyues: whiche be so  
incertayne & vn Timer: and parauenture shortly after this I shal  
fynish the with some sickenes or dysease. Is it nat better to dye  
in a noble quarel manly/ than to lyue in shame cowardly? Whan  
Sylla had thus answered: than Volux coulselled hym to de  
part from that place & to remoue for ward by nyght. Therto  
Sylla consented: and anone comaunded his soudyours to re  
fresh the them in their tentes with such vitels as they had/ and  
to make plenty of fiers ouer al the place to the intent that yf  
their ennemies were nere: in beholdyng the fiers they shulde  
thynke that they wolde nat remoue thens that nyght. But in  
the first hour of the night Sylla comaunded al his soudyos  
to leaue their fiers byennynge and so to depart forwarde in  
their iournay with scilence: so they dyd. And went al the night  
long: and euyn with the sonne rylinge they al beyng weryed:  
Sylla pytched his tentes agayne. With that certayne horse  
men of the mauriens brought word: that Jugurth had taken  
place to his tentes: and rested about the distance of two myle  
befoze them. Whan these rydynges were harde among the ro  
mayns: a meruelous & great fear entred the myndes of them  
al. for they thought them selfe betrayed of Volux. And so en  
uprounde with fals hode & treason. Many aduysed to take pu  
nishment of Volux: sayeng that it was a thynge unworthy to  
suffre hym to escape unpunished for so great a myschese and  
treason agaynst them commyted. But howbeit that Sylla  
was inwardly of the same opinion: neuertheles he defended

nuntiant. Volux adueni  
ens/quaestorem appellat:  
dicitq; se a patre Boccho  
obuiam illi/simul et prae  
sidio milium. Deinde per  
illu et proximu die sine  
metu comuncti eunt. Post  
vbi castra locata: et diei  
vesper erat: repete Mau  
rus incerto vultu pauens/  
ad Syllam accurrit: dicit  
q; sibi a speculatorib; co  
gnitu haud procul Iugur  
tham abesse. Simul vri  
noctu clam secum profus  
geret/rogat atq; hortat.  
Ille animo feroci negat/  
se toties sulum numidam  
pertimescere: virtuti suo  
rum satis credere: etiam  
si certa pestis adesset: ma  
surum: potius q; proditis  
his/ quos ducebat turpi  
fuga/ incerta: ac forsitan  
post paulo iteritura: mor  
bo/ vita parceret. Ceteru  
abeode monitus/ vti nos  
du proficisceretur: consis  
lium approbat: ac statim  
milites conatus esse i ca  
stris: ignesq; creberri  
mos fieri: deinde pria vi  
gilia silatio egredi iubet.

Iamq; nocturno itinere  
fessis omnibus/ Sylla pa  
riter cum ortu solis ca  
stra metabatur: cu equi  
tes mauri nunciant/ Iu  
gurtham circiter duum  
milium interuallo ante  
eos confedissee. Quod  
postq; auditum est: tu ve  
ro ingens metus nostros  
inuadit: credere se prodi  
tos a Voluce/ et insidijs  
circumuentos. Ac suere/  
qui diceret manu vindi  
candum/ neq; apud illum



## The batayle

tantum scelus inultū relinquendum. At Sylla quā eadem existimabatū ab iniuria maurum prohibet. suos hortatur, vti fortem animum gererent. Sæpe antea paucis strēnuis aduersus multitudinem bene pugnatum: quanto si bi in prælio minus peperissent: tātō tutiores fore: nequē quēquam decere, qui manus armauerit ab inimicis pedibus auxiliū petere, in maximo metu nudum et cecū corpus ad hostē vertere. Deinde Volucem (quā hostis lia taceret) louem maxīmū obtestatus: vt sceleris atq; præfidie Bocchi testis adesset: castris abire iubet. Ille lacrimās orāre: ne ea crederet: nihil dolo factū: ac magis caliditate Iugurthæ: cui videlicet speculātus iter suum cognitum esset. Ceterū quoniam neq; ingentem multitudinē haberet: & spes opesq; ex patre suo penderent: crederet: illū nihil palam ausurum: cum ipse filius testis adesset. Quare optimū factū videri: per media ei⁹ castra palam transire: sese vti præmissis vel ibidē relictis mauris: solum cum Sylla iturū. Ea res vti i tali negocio solet probata est: ac statim profecti: quia de improviso acciderat: dubio atque hesitantē Iugurthā incolumes transeunt.

Deinde paucis diebus quō ire intenderant peruenitū est.

the maurian from dammage. And exhorted his men to be of strong & bolde myndes: sayeng that often befoze that tyme it had ben sene that a fewe worthy men had won victoꝝ of a moche multitude of coward. And howe moche the lesse that they spared their bodyes in batayle fro fightyng: somoch the surer shuld they be: and that it semed no man to whome god & nature had gūen handes to defende his body: to sicke defence in his fete vnarmed by rennyng away. And that in suche a teopardy / a noble soudyours ought nat to tourne away his body from his ennemy / though he were naked and vnarmed.

¶ When Sylla had exhorted his men with suche wordes: he called vnto hym Volur: and called in to wytnesse Iuppter and al his ydols to recoꝝde the fallhode and treason of Bocchus / father of Volur: which had so betrayed hym. Then for asmoche as Sylla supposed that Volur had brought hym by treason into handes of Iugurth by counsel & comaundement of his father Bocchus he comaunded Volur anone to depart from his cōpany syght / Volur ptyuouly wepyng: besought Sylla nat to byleue suche thing in hym: & sayd that certainly by gyle noꝝ by treason was nothyng done of him noꝝ of his father: but rather by Iugurth which by his subtilte had espyed & serched their iournay & wayes by his espies & so knowen the same. But at cōclusion said Volur: syth it is so that Iugurth hath no great cōpany & that his hope / his trust & confort for þ moost part dependeth on my father: I thinke that he shal nat be so bolde to do any damage to you openly whyle I am in your cōpany: which may recoꝝde his ded to my father. Wherefoze Sylla to the intent that ye may perceyue that no treason is in me: I shal openly go with you alone by þ myddes of the tentes of Iugurth & so sauely conuey you: and other sēde my folke befoze: oꝝ els leaue thē here with your company whpyther of both shal please you best. This cōsel was allowed of Sylla: & anone without tary he proceeded forwarde with al his cōpany thꝛough myddes of the tentes of Iugurth. And by cause this was sodenly done: Iugurth nat knowyng therof befoze / he meruayled moche therat: & doubted long what was to be done. But at last he suffred the romayns to passe & to escape safe and soude for loue of Volur / and drede of Bocchus his father. And within a fewe dayes after: Volur and Sylla with their company came to Bocchus: whether they intended.

¶ Of the metyng and secrete apoyntmentes by twene Bocchus and Sylla: and howe by twene them both they abused Asper / the imballadour of Iugurth.

¶ The. lxxiii. chapter.

At the



**A**t the same season was with Bocchus a certayne numidyen named Asper / sende before Bocchus to Jugurth / by craft and subtiltye: to espy his counsel / as one as it was hard that Bocchus had sende for Sylla. This numidyen was moch & familiarly couersd with Bocchus at that tyme. After reouer there was an other named Dabar the son of Massagrade: which of his fathers syde was of the stocke of Massinissa. But of his mothers syde onelyke of byrth: for his mother was borne of a concubine. This Dabar (as I haue sayd) was at this season also in the company of Bocchus: and to hym dere and welbeloued for subtil wyt and great actes whiche he had done before: and namely bycause that Bocchus had founde & proued hym trusty & faythful many tymes before. In none Bocchus sende this Dabar to Sylla commaundyng Dabar to shewe hym yf he was redy to do euery thyng which yf romayns to hym wolde commaunde or assigne. And that Sylla hymself shuld apoynt & chole a tyme & place where they might comen togyder of their maters: and that he shulde nat fere no dout though the embassadoure of Jugurth were there with hym. For he had referued all thyngs touchyng their counsel hole tyme comyng of Sylla: & of nothyng had apoynted / comuned / nor concluded with the same embassadour of Jugurth. Which embassadour was called thyder to thyntent that their comen besynesses might bedone moze at lybertie & with lesse suspicion of Jugurth: for by other meanes they coude nat resyst nor make puysson agaynst his gydes. Such wordes sende Bocchus to Sylla: by his trusty seruant Dabar. But natwistandynge al these sayre promisses of Bocchus it was vnderstande yf he plunged the romayns & the numidyens in hope of peace / rather for fallhode & treason after the credence of aspycians: than for profet to the romayns or trouth of such thyngs as he promysed to Sylla. And often tymes he cast in his mynde & doubted whether he might betray Jugurth to yf romayns: or els Sylla to Jugurth: the pleasure & desyre of his mynde abused / moued / & counselled hym agaynst the romayns: but the drede whiche he had of punishment in tyme to come: moued hym with yf romayns. But to our purpose: Sylla answered to Dabar the messenger of Bocchus that he wolde come thyder / & firste speke a lytel of the peace & of suche other thynges in presence of Asper the embassadour of Jugurth: but concernyng the remedy of the besynesse: he wolde dyffer that to comen secretly w Bocchus / fewe or none called to counsel. And also he taught Dabar what wordes Bocchus shulde answer vnto hym Jugurth.

¶.

**I**Bi cum Boccho quidam numida Asper nomine / multum et familiariter agebat: pramissus a Jugurtha postquam Syllam accitum audierat / oratur et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia ierat. Præterea Dabar / Massagradæ filius / ex gente Massinissæ / cæterum materno genere impar. (Nam mater eius ex concubina orta erat) Mauro ob ingentia facta charus acceptusque: quem Bocchus fidem multis antea tempestatibus expertus: illico ad Syllam nunciatum mittit: paratum sese facere / quæ populus romanus vellet colloquio: diem: locum: tempus: ipse deligeret. consul to sese omnia cum illo in tegra habere. neu Jugurthæ legatum pertimesceret: eo aduocatus esset: quo res comunis licentius gereretur: nam ab infidijs eius aliter sibi cauere nequiuisset.

Sed ego cõperio Bocchũ magis punica fide: q̃ ob ea quæ prædicabat / simul romanos et numidam sp̃s pacis detinuisse: multumque cum suo animo voluerit solitũ: Jugurtham romanis / an illi Syllam traderet: libidinem aduersũ nos: metũ pronobis suasse.

Igitur Sylla respondit / se pauca coram aspare locuturum: cætera occulte / aut nullo præsentē / aut quæ paucissimis: simul edoceret: quæ sibi responderent.



## The batayle

Postq̄ sicuti voluerat cō-  
gressi: dicit se missū a cō-  
sule venisse quæ situm ab  
eo pacem an bellum agi  
raturus foret. Tum rex  
(vri præceptum fuerat)  
post diem decimum redi-  
re iubet. At nihil etiam  
decreuisse: sed illo die re-  
sponsurum.

Deinde ambo ad castra  
sua degressi.

agayne/whan they shulde come to cōmunicacion: and so de-  
parted Dabat. But whan Sylla sawe his tyme he went to  
Bocchus/and sayd that he was sent from Marius the consul  
to enquire if he wold leuer peace or war: and wheron he wold  
cōclude. Than Bocchus (as Dabat had warned hym before)  
cōmaūded Sylla to retourne agayne after .x. dayes: and thā  
shulde an answer be gūen vnto hym. For at that tyme no  
thyng was cōcluded. That answer was wel noted & harde Asper  
the embassadour of Jugurth. whiche was sent to espy the in-  
treatement: and so thought he that nothyng shulde be treated  
nor cōcluded without his knowlege. And thus after this an-  
swer Bocchus and Sylla departed: eche to their tentes.

**O**f the seconde cōmyng togyder of Bocchus  
and of Sylla: and of the wordes of Bocchus had  
to Sylla: and replecation and answer of Sylla  
agayne to hym. And how Bocchus graunted &  
concluded to betray Jugurth to the romayns.

### The .lxx. chapyter.

**S**ed ubi plerumq; no-  
dis processit: Sylla a  
Boccho occulte accer-  
sit: ab utroq; tantūmodo  
fidi interpretes adhibent.  
Præterea Dabat internū-  
cius/ sanctus vir/ iurat ex-  
sentētia ambobus: ac sta-  
tim sic rex incipit.

Nunq̄ ego ratus sum for-  
te/ vti rex maximus i hac  
terra/ et omnū, quos no-  
ui, opulentissimus priua-  
to homini gratiam debe-  
ret: me hercle Sylla, an-  
te te cognitum/ multis o-  
rātibus/ alijs vltro/ ego  
met opem tuli: nullius i-  
digni.

Id esse imminutum/ quod  
cæteri dolere solent/ ego  
letor: fuerit mihi eguisse  
aliquando præcium tuæ  
amicitiæ: qua apud anis



**A**t after that moche of the night  
was overpassed: Bocchus priuely sende  
for Sylla none being in their company/  
saue such as on both parties myght true-  
ly interpret and declare the sentence and vn-  
derstandyng of their word. And also Da-  
bat the sayd messenger/ was present whi-  
che solemly sware and promised to be faithfull interpreter of  
both their sayenges/ and sentences. Than Bocchus anone  
began his wordes in this sentence.

**I** haue thought forsoth: that it shulde neuer haue fortun-  
ed that I the greatest kynge of al them in these landes: and ry-  
chest of al them that I knowe: shuld haue ben bounde a mean  
& priuate person. And forsoth Sylla or euer I had of you:  
I haue gūen helpe & socours to many other men. To some  
of myne owne voluntary and frewyl. And to some other: re-  
quited of them: my selfe nat nedpyng helpe of any man. But  
now syth I haue knowen you: I haue nede of your helpe and  
frendshyp of which I am glad: nat withstandyng other men  
ar wont to be sorpy of such fortune. And certainly this nede whi-  
che I haue of your frendshyp is nat of me counted damage  
nor losse: but moche profet and pleasure. For inwardly in my  
mynde nothyng is deter/ nor moze acceptable: whiche ye may

conueniently proue if it please you: demande & take of me armour/ men/ treasure: and finally what euer it pleasech you in your mynde: and vse & occupy the same as your owne. And thynke ye for certayne that whyle ye lyue & I cogyder: I can neuer render worthy thanks vnto your kynndes: nor condignely recompence your great humanite: but euer my good wyl & mynde shalbe hole and newe agaynst you. And certainly if I may knowe your mynde & wyl: ye shal nought nedde to desyre of me: I shal prouent your requestes with my benefytes: so that ye shal conceyue nothyng in hayne. Merely as I thynke it is lesse & prouable and lesse dishonour a kynge to be ouercome with armour: than with liberalite. Wherefore I haue concluded in mynde that a man shal rather overcome me in batayle with weapon & force of armes: than with liberalite.

¶ But touchyng your common wayle (for whose besynes ye besende hyther as procuratour of the same) this is my sentence and mynde in fewe wordes. Agaynst the romayns / nor agaynst their empire: I neuer moued nor made war: nor to make batayle agaynst them: it was neuer in my mynde by my wyl. But the boundys of my marchesse haue I endeouored me to defende agaynst the violence of your armed men. But this I leaue & set a syde: syth I se that it pleasech you to do the same: recure & continue ye batayle with Jugurth as ye wyl. And as touchyng me: I shal nat ouerpasse the water of Muthucha / whiche was boundes bytwene my marches and Mithyptis whyle he lyued. Nor into my countrey I shal nat suffer Jugurth from hens forth: to entre for socours / as he hath done in tymes passed. Farthermore if ye desyre any thyng of me conueniently: which I may worthely graunt/ my royalte nat denyed: it shal nat be denyed vnto you. Thus concluded Bocchus his wordes.

¶ Vnto these wordes Sylla answered for his owne part but moderately and with fewe wordes. But touchyng the peace and besynesse concernyng the common wayle: he spake many wordes/ wherof the conclusion was suche.

¶ Kyng Bocchus I assure and promesse you: that the romayns shal nat be unkynde to you if ye do some pleasure to them: which may rather long to the al holly in comen: than in me alone. And thynke ye for certayne: that they whiche haue overcome you in batayle: shal lyke wylle overcome you wth liberalite/ kynndesse/ and good dedes: if ye so contend with the: which thyng is now reddy in your power to do: consyderyng that I haue Jugurth reddy at your wyl and pleasure. Therefore among al benefytes or pleasures: ye can do none more acceptable vnto the romayns: than to deliuer vnto theym Jugurth.

num meum nihil charius habeo: id adeo experiri licet. arma: viros: pecuniam postremo quicquid alio libet sume: vtere: ut quo ad viues nunquam tibi reddam gratiam putaueris: sed semper apud me intergra erit. Denique nihil me sciente frustra voles. Nam ut ego existimo regem armis quam munificentia vincere minus flagitiosum.

Ceterum de republica vestra cuius curator hucusque es paucis accipe. Belum ego populo romano negligens neque factum vnum quod volui times meos aduersum armatos tutatus sum. Id omitto quoniam ita vobis placet. Gerite uti vultis cum Jugurtha bellum. ego flumen Muthucham quod inter me et Micipsam fuit non egrediar. Denique id Jugurtham intrare sinam. Præterea si quid me vobisque dignum petueris haud repulsus abibis.

Ad ea Sylla pro se breuiter et modice de pace deque communibus rebus multis disseruit.

Denique regi patefecit quod polliceatur senatus et populum romanum: quoniam armis amplius valissent non in gratiam habiturum: faciendum aliquid quod illorum magis quam sua retulisse videre rurius adeo in promptu esse quoniam Jugurtham copiam haberet quem si



## The batayle

romanis tradidisset fore  
ut illi plurimum deberet  
amicitiam: sedus: Numis  
die partem quam nunc  
peteret: tunc ultro aduen  
turam.

Rex primo negare agita  
re cognitionem affinita  
tem praterea sedus iter  
uenisse. Ad hoc metuere  
ne fluxa fide usus popu  
lariū animos auerteret.  
quis et Iugurtha charus  
et romanis inuisi erant.  
Deniq; læpius fatigatus  
leniter et ex voluntate  
Syllæ omnia se facturum  
promittit.

Cæterum ad simulandum  
pacem cuius numida des  
telius bello audissimus  
erat: quæ vitia visa sunt  
constituunt. Ita compo  
sito dolo degrediuntur.

gurth. By this meanes shal they be moche beholden to you:  
and thynke ye stedfastly: it shal nat be bntewarden on our be  
halfe. For than shal the Senate graunt vnto you ampte and  
peace: and also a part of numidy whiche ye do nowe clame:  
shul than be graunted vnto you vnto required.

¶ Bocchus heyrng these wordes of Sylla: first excused him  
selfe by the affynpte whiche was bytwene hym and Iugurth:  
and by the longe familiarite & aquayntance whiche they had  
to gyder: sayeng also that a bonde of peace was confyderate  
and sworne bytwene them. And also that he fered & suspected  
that if he so dyd: his owne subgett shulde hate hym therfore  
whiche moche loued Iugurth: & greatly hated the romayns.  
But nat withstandyng these wordes of Bocchus: Sylla des  
syed nat to attyse and counsel hym: yf at last he agreed and  
consented to his desyre: promysing to do euery thyng as Sylla  
requeyred hym. But to thynntent to sayne a treaty of peace  
(of whiche Iugurth werped in warre was moche desyous)  
they ordapred suche craft: as to their purpose semed most ex  
pedyent. But whan they had ymagined and deuyfed al thyn  
ges after theyr myndes: than both they departed in sonder:  
and retourned agayne to their rest.

**Howe Bocchus betrayed Iugurth and deli  
uered hym bounde to Sylla. ¶ The. lxxvi. chap.**

**A**T rex postero die  
Asperē Iugurthæ  
legatū appellat di  
citq; sibi p̄ Dabarē ex Syl  
la cognitū posse cōditio  
nibus bellū sui sententiā  
exquiteret. Ille leḡ in ca  
stra Iugurthæ p̄ficiscit̄.  
Deinde cūcta ab illo edo  
ctus properato itinere  
post diem octauum redit  
ad Bocchum et ei nunci  
at Iugurthā cupere om  
nia quæ imperaretur fas  
cere sed Mario parū con  
fidere. Sæpe antea cū im  
peratoribus romanis pa  
cem cōuentam frustra fu  
isse. Ceterū Bocchus si ani  
mū consultū et ratam  
pacem vellet: daret ope  
rā vt vna quasi de pace in



**Q**u the mozo we after Bocchus called  
to hym Asper the imballadour of Iugurth/and  
sayd to hym that he vnderstode of Sylla by the  
interpretacion of Dabar that the way might be  
finysched vpon certayne cōditions. Wherfore he  
had hym go & inquire the mynde & pleasure of his kyng in  
behalse. Asper of these tydynge was glad & toke hys leaue of  
Bocchus: and departed to the tentes of Iugurth: & certyfyed  
hym of the same. Iugurth shewed to Asper: al his mynd and  
pleasure cōcerning the pzemisses. And within. viii. dayes af  
ter sende hym agayne to Bocchus. Whan Asper was retourned  
agayne to Bocchus: he shewed to him hys wyl of Iugurth/say  
eng that he coueted to do althyng whiche shuld be cōmaūded  
to hym of Bocchus: but he had but smal cōfydēce in Marius.  
For al moche as the peace whiche often befoze had ben conue  
ted & apoynted of the romayne captayns had anone after ben  
frustrate: & broken of the agayne. But if ye wyl (sayd Asper  
to Bocchus) that peace shalbe confermed of the romayns w  
Iugurth & you also: Iugurth desyeth & requirerth you to la  
bour so: that Sylla/Iugurth/& ye: may come togyder to cō

muncation: as if it were to treat of peace & that ye wyl there betraie and deliuer Sylla to hym. For if ye may once bring such a man into power & handes of Jugurth: anone after it shall fortune without doute that peace shalbe made and graunted to him by comen assent of the senatours: & comens of Rome also. And that: to thynke to recouer Sylla agayne out of the handes of Jugurth. For without doute & romayns wyl nat suffice so noble a man to be left in handes & danger of their enemies. And namely: whan they shal vnderstande hym take nat by his owne folly nor cowardyse: but in besynesse belongynge to the comen wayle.

**B**occhus heyrng these wordes: reuolued & cast lōg in minde what he might answer to the: but at last he graunted thereto. But whether he doubted so long before he graunted for subtiltye or very trowth / it is harde to discern. But this is playnly known & for the moost part in like wyse as the wylls & myndes of kynge be behemēt / immoderat / & hasty: right so be they mouyng / vnstedfast / & variable: and often aduers & contrary to their owne selfe: and with therselfe repugnāt. But to our matter: Bocchus assigned to Asper a place & tyme: where Sylla and they shuld comen togyder of the peace. And in the meane whyle somtyme he comuned secretly with Sylla: somtyme w<sup>th</sup> Asper embassadour of Jugurth: treatyng them both mekely and courtesly: and promysyng one self thyng vnto them both. Wherefore they both were glad: and also eche of them both had good hope in the promyses of Bocchus.

**B**ut the nygh before that day: whiche was assigned to intreatmēt of the peace: Bocchus called vnto hym diuerse of his frendes / as if he wold haue taken counsell of them: and than immediately he chaūged that mynde: commaūdyng them agayne to auoyde from hym. And so (none of his counsell about hym) he stode al alone reuoluyng & tournyng in mynde many thyngs by hymselfe / chaūgyng oftentymes in countenance / and colour variable & diuerse: apertyng forthward by tokens of feare conceyued in his mynde & expressed by ourwarde tokens of his body. In so moche: that al yf he expressed nat his mynde by wordes: neuertheles this often changing of countenance / declared the secrettes of his hert. But at conclusion: after long cōspyt had within hymselfe: at last he commaūded Sylla to be called vnto hym. And than aft<sup>r</sup> his aduysse & counsell he deuised & prepared althynge concernyng the prouision of Jugurth.

**A**fter this counsell concluded: as sone as the day light apered: tidynge was brought to Bocchus / that Jugurth was nat far thens: and comyng towarde hym. Bocchus this heyrng: anone prepared hymselfe and proceded forth agaynst Jugurth.

P.iii.

colloquium conuenire: ibiq<sup>ue</sup> Sylla sibi traderetur: cum talem virum in potestate habuisset: tum fore uti iussu senatus ac populi romani fore fieret: neq<sup>ue</sup> hominē nobilem nō sua ignātia captum: sed ob remp. in hostium potestate relictum iri.

Hæc Maurus secum ipse diu voluens tandem promisit. Cæterum dolo an in re cunctatus parū cōperimus sed plerumq<sup>ue</sup> regia voluntates vt vehēmentes sic mobiles: sæpe ipse sibi aduertit.

Postea tēpore et loco constituto in colloquium uti de pace cōuenirent Bocchus Syllam modō modo lugurthæ legatum appellare: benigne habere: idem ambobus polliceri: illi leti pariter ac spei bonę elie pienti: sed nocte ea quæ proxia fuit ante diem colloquio decretum maurus adhibitis amicis ac statim immutata voluntate remotis a se cæteris dicitur secum multa agitauisset: vultu / colore / ac motu corporis pariter atq<sup>ue</sup> animo varius quæ scilicet ipso tacente occulta pectoris oris immutatio ne patefecit.

Tamen postremo Syllam accessiri iubet: et ex eius sententia numidæ insidiæ tendit.

Deinde vbi dies aduenit et ei nunciatum Iugurtham haud longe esse cū paucis amicis et quæstō-



re nostro quasi obuius  
 noris causa procedit i  
 mulum facillimum visu  
 insidiantibus eodem nu  
 mida cum plerisque neces  
 sarijs suis inermia uti  
 dictum erat accedit: ac  
 statim signo dato vndiq  
 simul ex insidijs inuadit.

Ceteri obruticati Iugur  
 tha victus Sylla tradit  
 tur: et ab eo ad Marium  
 deductus est.

## The batayle

hym accompanied with a rew of his frendes/ and also with  
 Sylla: sayntinge that he went so forth to mete with Iugurth  
 and to receyue hym/ by cause of honour. And thus they proce  
 ded forwarde: tyl at last they came to an oppn heyth/ where  
 they myght easely se the commyng of Iugurth: whiche place  
 was apoynted befoze to their treason. For in brucele valeys  
 of the same heyth: were armed men hyenge in wayt redy and  
 apoynted befoze by Bocchus: for to assaile Iugurth and his  
 company/ whan signes shuld be gyuen to them: to yssue forth  
 of their luckyng places. Anone Iugurth with many of his  
 men about hym came to þ same place al vnarmed: as apoynte  
 ment was made befoze. For it was ordayned that Bocchus/  
 Iugurth/ and Sylla: shulde come togyder to comunicacion:  
 eche one with a smal company/ and al vnarmed. . .

¶ Anon as Iugurth was come thyder: kyng Bocchus gaue  
 a token to his men/ which lay in wayt for Iugurth. Anone as  
 they harde the token: sodaynly they bracke forth and inuaded  
 Iugurth and his cōpany: compassyng them about on euery  
 syde. Without great labour: al the company of Iugurth were  
 murdered: and he hymselfe taken and bounde hande and fote/  
 and so delpyered vnto Sylla: whiche without tary led hym  
 forth and delpyered hym vnto Marius: whose hert was re  
 plenysshed and inuitroned / with ioye inestimable. . .

¶ How Marius was receyued into Rome with  
 triumphe: and howe Iugurth was cast into  
 prison: where he contynued in mys  
 erable captiuite tyl he dyed.

The .lxxvii. cha.



After that Iugurth thus bounde  
 was delpyered by Bocchus vnto Sylla:  
 and than to Marius. Anone al the num  
 byans/ submytted and yelded themselfe to  
 the romayns. Marius with great wys  
 dome set an order among the people/ and  
 garnysshed and fortifised the townes: and  
 than with the remanent of his army toke his iournay agayne  
 to Rome: leadyng Iugurth and his two sonnes bounde with  
 hym: with innumerable other prisoners/ great treasour/ oyl  
 phantes/ and armour: whiche he had won in the war of Ju  
 gurth. But after that tidynges were brought to Rome: howe  
 the war was ended in Numidy: and howe Iugurth was

led thitherwarde bounde and prisoner. And the Senate and commons assembled to counsel: and Marius was create consul agayne for the next yere: in his absence. And by decree and ordynance: the prouince of Fraunce was committed vnto hym to be recouered.

¶ For the same tyme whyle Marius warred in Numidy: and toke Jugurth prisoner. That countrey of France (whose people that tyme were named Cymbrians) rebelled agaynst the empyre of Rome. Agaynst whome the romayns sende forth to repressse their rebellion: a great army with two capitayns: the one named Quintus Scipio the other Marcus Manlius: whiche at last with frowarde fortune had a great and greuous batayle with the same frenchmen Cymbrians. In which both these romayne capitayns were overcome and twyle lost the felde. Of the romayne men of war: were slayne. lxx. thousande: of tylmen and pages. xl. thousande. Thus was this batayle foughten with so pl fortune vnto the romayns: that the cite of Rome and al the countrey of Italy trembled for feare therof. In somoche that both the romains which lyued at that tyme: and al their progeny whiche succeeded them: counted al other nacions redy to their obedience: and to wyth honour by them: but they thought neuer to contende in batayle with this nacion of frenchmen: to wyne glorie or honour by them: but rather to defende themselves and their libertie: whiche thyng if they myght do / they counted themselves fortunate. Wherefore (as I haue before recounted) the Senate and commons of Rome decreed this prouince of France to Marius for to reuenge the deeth of their men: and to recouer the countrey.

¶ But (to our purpose) whan Marius shulde intre into Rome he was soylfully receyued with great glorie and triumph: wherof the order was suche. Marius hymselfe was set on hye in a golden chayre: whiche was drawen of foure whyte palfreyes. Jugurth and his two sonnes / with many other noble men: whome he brought captiue from Numidy / proceeded before his chariot: their handes and armes bounde as prisoners. Furthermore for more ample ostentacion of his glorie / and to declare howe moche he had inriched the comen wayle of Rome: al the elyphantes / armour / jewels / treasure / and riches whiche he had won in Numidy of Jugurth: were led and borne before hym. Then al the senatours: al the officers and noble men of Rome / with an innumerable multitude of commons receyued hym with al honour and lope: and conuayed hym vnto the principal palaces of Rome / named the Capitol: where he made sacrifice with a bul vnto Jupiter:

¶ Per idem tempus aduersum Gallos ab ducibus nostris Quinto Scipione et Caio Manlio male pugnatum est.

Quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat.

Illique et denique omnes romani vsq; ad nostram memoriam sic habuerunt alia omnia virtuti sua prona effectum Gallia pro salute non pro gloria certare.

Sed postquam bellum in Numidia confectum et Iugurtham Romam victum adduci nuntiatum est. Marius consul absens factus est et ei decreta prouincia gallia.



## The batayle. 8

*Itaq; kalēdis Ianuarij ma-  
gna gloria consul trium-  
phauit.*

*Ex ea tempestate spes at-  
que opes ciuitatis in il-  
lo sita. Telos.*

for his victory: after the custome of that tyme. His sacrifice  
ended: then was he conveyed into the Senate house: in his  
robe triumphall: as neuer consul was brought before his tyme.  
Marius was receyued at Rome with such triumphe at the  
kalendes of Ianuary. From then forth al the hope of comfort/  
welth/loco's/ & welth of the cite of Rome relied in Marius.  
Mugurth was casten into prison: where he ended his wret-  
ched lyfe in miserable captiuite / and many  
folde calamities / as to such a murder

er unnatural: and tyran-  
inhumane was  
conueny-  
ent.

FINIS.

**Thus endeth the famous cronycle of the war  
whiche the romayns had agaynst Jugurth  
vlsurper of the kyngdome of Numidy:**

**whiche cronycle is copped in latyn  
by the renowned romayn Sa-  
lust. And translated into  
englysshe by sy: Ale-  
xander Barclay  
preele: at com-  
maundes**

**ment of the right hye and mighty prince / Tho-  
mas duke of Northfolke. And impren-  
ted at London by Richarde Wynton  
printer vnto the kynges noble gra-  
ce: with priuylege vnto hym  
graunted by our sayd so-  
uerayne lord the  
kyng.**

